



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

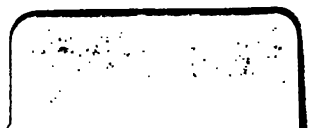




600064U13J

42.

1011.













**THREE LETTERS**

TO

**THE REV. W. PALMER.**

---

***SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.***



# THREE LETTERS

TO THE

REV. W. PALMER,

*FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, OXFORD,*

ON THE NAME 'PROTESTANT;'

ON THE SEEMINGLY DOUBLE CHARACTER OF THE  
ENGLISH CHURCH;

AND ON THE BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME REMARKS ON A PAMPHLET OF J. R. HOPE, ESQ., ENTITLED  
'THE BISHOPRIC OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,  
AT JERUSALEM, CONSIDERED IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.'

---

BY F. D. MAURICE, A.M.,

*CHAPLAIN OF GUY'S HOSPITAL, AND PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.*



---

THE SECOND EDITION,

TO WHICH ARE ADDED SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON GERMAN  
PROTESTANTISM, AND A NOTICE OF THE POSTSCRIPT TO  
THE SECOND EDITION OF MR. HOPE'S LETTER.

---

LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLII.

1011.

**LONDON :**  
**HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS**  
**ST. MARTIN'S LANE.**

## CONTENTS.

---

	Page
Preface to the Second Edition . . . . .	vii

### LETTER I.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM . . . . .	1
---	---

### LETTER II.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH . . . . .	16
------------------------------	----

### LETTER III.

THE BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM. . . . .	40
-------------------------------------	----

### POSTSCRIPT.

ON A THIRD PAMPHLET BY MR. PALMER . . . . .	76
---	----

---

### APPENDIX I.

LEGAL OBJECTIONS TO THE BISHOPRIC . . . . .	81
---	----

### APPENDIX II.

ON THE LETTERS OF DR. PUSEY AND DR. ABEKEN, AND ON MR. HOPE'S REPLY TO APPENDIX I. . . . .	95
---	----





## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

---

IN two or three passages of these Letters I had spoken of Mr. Palmer as "cursing" Protestants. This word, I understand, has given offence. Mr. Palmer meant to anathematize, but not to curse. I therefore very willingly substitute his phrase for mine. At the same time I must take leave to say, that I did not attach a more awful signification to the English word than he attaches to the Greek one. I did not mean to say more than that he pronounced upon Protestants, and those who fraternized with them, a sentence of exclusion from all the privileges of Christ's Church. I do not know what the etymology of the word "curse" is, or what other force than this persons ordinarily give to it. If they suppose it to imply a wish or prayer that evil should befall other men, I certainly never supposed it to be applicable in their sense to Mr. Palmer. I give him full credit for a desire that we may repent. If he had merely said that he *wished* us some evil, I should not have troubled him with these Letters. He said that we *were* heretics, and called upon us to disprove the charge, which I endeavoured to do.

In Mr. Palmer's *Aids to Reflection*, he inserted what I imagined was the substance of a private letter, addressed by a friend of his to the Chaplain of the Bishop of Jeru-

saalem, in answer to a private communication from him. I signified my opinion that if the introduction of such a document were quite necessary to Mr. Palmer's cause, that cause must be a bad one. An explanation has been offered of this proceeding, to which the reader is entitled. It is this:—That there was no demand of secrecy in the letter of the Chaplain; that the person whom he addressed was a stranger; and that Mr. Palmer's report of his friend's answer is an abstract from recollection, (though made of course with the leave of the writer,) and not a copy.

Some friends of Mr. Palmer, for whose opinion I entertain a high respect, have thought that my language, in some passages of these Letters, is personally disrespectful to him. If it be so, it does not express my feelings. Though I know nothing of him except from his publications, I have every disposition to admire his honesty and his earnestness, as well as his ability. And though I cannot pretend to like his style of writing, it is very much pleasanter to me than that of those who "just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike." Others had insinuated that Protestants were schismatics; he, in a much fairer and more English spirit, affirmed us to be so, and put us upon our defence. For this service we owe him, as I have said in my first Letter, much gratitude. The arrogance of his tone I attributed much more to the position which he had assumed than to his character. I can quite believe that it was even more painful to himself than to his readers.

Of his tone in the *Aids to Reflection*, I may have



spoken with less tolerance, because it seemed to me that he was, upon very insufficient grounds and very partial evidence, attacking foreigners whom we are only too much inclined to abuse already. When I found the whole body of German Protestants condemned upon the strength of some fragments of conversations with two or three individuals at Geneva, not apparently connected with them by any tie of religious fellowship, with two Professors living one knows not where, and with chance visitors at Oxford (to one of whom sentiments are ascribed, which, so far as I can understand them from Mr. Palmer's version, would not strike an ordinary English Churchman as very shocking), I did feel inclined to express some astonishment and indignation. Nevertheless, I can allow for the strong impression which may be made upon the mind of a traveller by what he hears, and for the rapid and marvellous generalizations by which, with the help of a few casual hints and common names, he arrives at a judgment perfectly satisfactory to himself, upon the most delicate and complicated questions: I have felt too much of this temptation myself, not to understand the force of it upon another; and, therefore, having once protested against the uncharitableness of these acts of private judgment, I could have been quite content to say of them, in the present edition, *Valeant quantum valebunt*.

But, to my great surprise, those passages have been quoted in an elaborate article in the *British Critic*, as the choicest specimens of Mr. Palmer's observation and erudition, and as completely decisive of the controversy. I cannot presume to dissent from such an authority; I must suppose that these are the very best arguments with

which the ablest writers on the subject of Continental alliances are at present acquainted. If there had been better, of course they would have been produced. So much importance therefore being attached to these passages, I have been obliged to preserve my original remarks upon them. They have no longer any peculiar or personal reference to Mr. Palmer. They are addressed to a mode of reasoning which has received the imprimatur of a school.

---

## LETTER I.

---

### CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

SIR,

IN the course of the last month two pamphlets have appeared which bear your name. The first is entitled, "A Letter to the Rev. C. P. Golightly, occasioned by his communication to the Standard Newspaper, charging certain Members of the University of Oxford with dishonestly making use of their positions within the pale of the Established Church, in order to propagate Popery." The second is entitled, "Aids to Reflection on the seemingly double character of the Established Church, with reference to the Foundation of a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem\*."

Your letter to Mr. Golightly is short: it was evidently written in great haste, and it is mixed up with those personal allusions which have made recent Oxford controversies so disagreeable to those who are not, and I should hope, to those who are, resident in the University. I am, therefore, reluctant to notice it at all; nor should I do so, if it were not closely connected with the second pamphlet, which is far more elaborately composed, which contains some important documents, and which treats of a subject of deep, general, and permanent interest.

Your letter was occasioned, it seems, by a mistake which had been made respecting your opinions on the present circumstances of the English Church. You had been charged with expressing surprise and regret at the approaches which some of your friends were making towards Popery. You say that you are sorry at what you have observed, but by no means astonished; that the change seems to you a most natural one; that so long as the English Church presents the appearance of

\* Oxford, J. H. Parker, and J. F. and J. Rivington, London.



a Protestant, or half-Protestant body, persons of 'imaginative, impatient, and imperfectly informed minds,' will be disposed to fly from her; that our ecclesiastical rulers seem to wish that she could be connected, even more than she is already, with Protestantism and Protestants; that nevertheless you believe her to be essentially Catholic; that if she be Protestant, she is merely negative, schismatical, and heretical; that if by any direct words or acts she shall declare herself to be such, you will leave her. You then pronounce an anathema upon Protestantism and Protestants, and upon all members of the English Church, who shall knowingly and wilfully hold fellowship with either. And you conclude with 'calling upon all zealous and consistent Protestants, *i. e.*, all supporters of the right of heresy (τοὺ αἰρεῖν ἢ αἰρεῖσθαι), who may be nevertheless unconscious of any heretical disposition within themselves, to look their own principle boldly in the face, and to carry it out to its full consequences; and then, if they will still believe it to be true, to contend earnestly, but as honourable men, and with temper, for what they believe to be the true religion, and so help to bring matters to an issue.'

As these are the principles which you apply in your second pamphlet to the consideration of the recent measure respecting the bishopric at Jerusalem, I could not, in justice to you, pass over that condensed and emphatic declaration of them which is contained in your letter. I do not, however, I assure you, mean to dwell even for a moment upon the feelings which your language may have excited in persons, who, like myself, are certainly zealous, and wish to be consistent, Protestants. If we are, as you say we are, entirely negative and contradictory in our opinions, if our sole delight is in rejecting, if we are endeavouring to fraternize on the principle of a common hatred, I believe that we are worthy of the condemnation which you have pronounced upon us; and I should not for my own part stop to inquire, whether you are or are not endued with powers to pronounce it. I have always lamented in others, and in myself, the tendency to deny instead of to assert. I have always considered it *the* disease of human nature, and have

acknowledged how many circumstances were likely to call it forth in us, who are Englishmen, who are separate, whether by our own fault or theirs, from other Christian communities, and who are living in a critical and censorious age. These circumstances offer no excuse by which we should seek to palliate the sin in ourselves; but they afford the strongest reason why we should be continually on our guard against it, and why we should be grateful to every person who, courteously or uncourteously, with or without authority, gives us warning of its existence. As a Protestant, therefore, I have every reason to thank you for what you have said; we can, if we will, profit as much by curses as by blessings; and I can honestly say, that I never was so convinced as since I read your letter, that I have a positive ground to stand upon, and that I am bound to maintain it.

I propose in my present letter to explain what I conceive this positive ground to be. I mean then, in a second letter, to apply what I have said to the present condition of the English Church, and to inquire how far it has that equivocal character which you speak of. Then, in a third letter, I will consider how the statements in the two former bear upon the question of the foundation of a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem.

I hope that in this discussion I may be enabled to preserve that good temper which you require of all opponents. At least I promise you, that I will "look my principle in the face, and that I will not shrink from any of its consequences."

I have said, Sir, that the tone of your letter is not one, which I, as a Protestant, feel any disposition to complain of; that it may teach us very profitable lessons. But when I consider it in reference to those for whose sake it appears mainly to be written, I must speak a very different language. You say that there are persons of your acquaintance who seem likely to leave the Church of England, and to take refuge in Rome. I do not know who they are, but I doubt not that you have better means of information than I have, and I should have argued from my own observation, that such conversions were to be expected. These persons may, as you say, be men of imaginative, impatient, and imperfectly informed minds. But if I may judge of them



by those who have already gone out from among us, I should say they might be men of very affectionate and earnest minds; men who in a right way or a wrong way desired to seek peace and ensue it. If they are flying from us, I believe it is because they suppose us to be, what you think we are, mere deniers and dividers; if they are betaking themselves to Rome, it is not for the sake of her curses, but in spite of them.

They say to themselves, "Rome may have been guilty in former days of causing or fomenting divisions, of cursing those whom she might have blessed, of excommunicating where she might have reconciled. But now, all division, separation, bitterness, seem to us to be on the other side. *We* set ourselves up against the general unity of Christendom; *we* magnify our own individual opinions, instead of showing humility for our ignorance, and submitting to be taught; we denounce ages past and present; we look upon men as foes, whom we should wish to embrace as brothers. Rome, on the other hand, appears now as the only remaining witness for a bond of fellowship; her rulers and ministers are the only outward and apparent signs that we are not meant to be divided from each other by national customs, or laws, or language. She alone lifts up her voice to declare that the opinions, judgments, dogmas, of particular minds are not to tear in pieces those whom Christ has meant to be one."

Now, Sir, I ask you calmly to consider the effect of your words upon men having such feelings as these. They read a pamphlet expressly written to denounce Protestant negations, Protestant self-exaltations, Protestant separations: and what do they find there? They find a writer who says, 'I am *not* a Protestant, I am *not* a Romanist, I am *not* a disciple of the Via Media; I separate from all the Romanists in my own country, I separate from all Protestants abroad, I separate from all Protestants in my own country, I separate from those whom I believe to be the great majority of the presbyters and bishops of my own Church; I, a deacon of the Church, denounce and renounce them all.' No document, I am sure, has appeared from any quarter, which is so likely to induce the best, the holiest members of that class which is discontented with the English

Church to desert it, as this letter of yours. True, it carries with it no authority; it is merely the utterance of an individual's private judgment; it commits the Church to nothing. But they will say, 'Here is the specimen of a man trying to be Catholic under impossible conditions; he would, if he could, be positive, but all he can do is to rave at other people for being negative. This is the result of an Anglican education; this is the *ῥθος* which is produced by the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. Surely Protestantism has laid hold of her very vitals, since those of her members who try to abjure it, exhibit its spirit in the worst and most outrageous form.'

Perhaps you may say, that in these remarks I am doing you injustice; that implicitly in your first pamphlet, explicitly in your second, you have asserted the importance of a dogmatic teaching, as the foundation of all right opinion and sound feeling; that you have declared your allegiance to the dogmatic teaching of the first ages and to the symbols in which it is embodied; that you have therefore a positive ground to stand upon, from which you are able to look down upon all who have departed from it, and on catholic grounds, and with catholic authority, to condemn them. You may say, moreover, that you not only submit to this dogmatic teaching, but that you recognize the institutions of the Church, her sacraments, her liturgies, her ministry. I do not wish to deprive you of any advantage you may obtain from this plea; I do not wish to hurt your feelings, by telling you that I, who am the subject of your anathema, attach as great importance to the creeds, the sacraments, the episcopacy of the Church, as I think you can do. But the question will be asked by those who are disposed to leave our communion, and it must be answered, 'How is it possible that all this submission to past teaching, this humility and prostration of spirit before ancient fathers, this anxiety to walk in those ordinances which are the bonds of Christian peace and charity, can consist with a tone of such unusual assumption, with a kind of language which would have made any ancient father tremble, and have led him to think that the person who used it must be, not only a refractory member of any Church to



which he might belong, but that he had those elements powerfully at work in him out of which heresy—the sin *τὸν αἰπεῖν ἢ αἰπεῖσθαι*—has usually developed itself?

Sir, if you have not considered the solution which they will find for this puzzle, I will tell you what it is. They will say, 'We were almost convinced before, we are quite convinced now, that dogmas, and institutions, will not really produce the goodly and uniting effects which ought to flow from them, unless there be some PERSONAL CENTRE from which the dogmas shall be derived, by which the institutions shall be upheld, and to which the hearts and minds of all Christians shall naturally turn. Till we are content to acknowledge such a centre, we shall not really assume the posture of humble Christians; we shall still be individual dogmatists while we talk of bowing to the decisions of the Church; we shall be glorifying ourselves for our adherence to institutions, and we shall not be really experiencing the blessings of them, either in our own lives, or in the union which they establish with people of other tribes and nations; we shall have the name of Catholics, without the power which the name imports. It was by getting rid of this centre that Protestantism destroyed the Church. It is by seeking this centre again, that we must restore it.'

Here, Sir, here is the turning point of the whole controversy; men want a Centre—they say unity without a centre of unity is a contradiction and impossibility. It must be a real Centre, not a dogma,—not a set of dogmas, whether conceived by ourselves, or transmitted by others; every institution must express and manifest this Centre; it must transcend all notions and opinions, yet it must have such a connection with the heart of man, as no notions or opinions ever can have. Such men as the author of *Mores Catholici*, and that amiable member of your College, who has recently left us, feel, if I do not very much mistake them, that Protestants in general have lost sight of this centre—a centre for the whole body—and have made each his own individual self a centre. Anglicans, they complain, have lost sight of that centre; they have made their own national institutions their centre. I fear there is too much ground for both charges.

As a Protestant, I confess the first sin; as an Englishman, the second. But I do not think that I shall get rid of these sins by renouncing Protestantism and Anglicanism. I fancy they will cleave to me still, only manifesting themselves in another shape, and joining themselves to other spirits more evil than themselves. I do know, however, that the wish for a living Personal Centre must be satisfied. If you would recall these wanderers to our communion, if you would hinder others from following their example, you should be prepared to show them how they may find a real centre, not for a part of the Church, but for the whole of it, without going to Rome. All other arguments I am sure will be of no avail. You may anathematize for them all Lutherans and Calvinists, and three fourths of your own countrymen; they will only say that you have convinced them that our English air is full of nothing but grating and dissonant notes, and that all who are in want of true and heavenly music must seek it elsewhere. In the mean time, Sir, I will endeavour to show that I am a Protestant just because I do acknowledge this Catholic centre, and that the moment I relinquish my Protestantism, that moment I abandon the best hope for the unity of the Church. You charge me as a Protestant with being simply negative; I will therefore express the grounds of this conviction in a confession which I trust will be found at least as positive as anything in your letter to Mr. Golightly.

I believe then, that our Lord came into this world to set up His Church or Kingdom in the midst of it; that this kingdom is universal, unfettered by the limits of Nation or Age, of Space, or Time. I believe that this universal Church is founded on the union established between Manhood and Godhead, in the Person of JESUS CHRIST, and upon all those acts of birth, death, burial, descent into hell, resurrection, and ascension, in which His union with our race was realized, and His union with God manifested. I believe that as this union of Godhead and manhood rests, so the Church itself rests ultimately upon the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, wherein is expressed that highest, deepest, most perfect unity, which the spirit of men in all ages has been seeking after and longing to find.



I believe that this universal Church is the only true society for men, as men—the only body which declares to us what Humanity is, and what a false, spurious, anomalous thing that *World* is, which is based upon individual selfishness, in which each man is his own centre. I believe that this spiritual and universal body was not made by Christ to depend upon the feelings, or faith of men, because these feelings and faith are nothing, unless they have something to rest on—because it is a contradiction and absurdity to suppose that they create that without which they would have no existence. I believe that He meant His Church to stand in certain permanent and universal institutions; upon a sacrament by which men should be taken into a real and not fictitious union with Him; upon another sacrament in which they might enjoy real and not fictitious communion with Him; upon creeds in which they should assert and claim their actual relationship to Him; in forms of worship wherein they should realise the highest perfection of their being, and the greatest fellowship with each other in confessing their sins to Him, glorifying His name, and asking His help; in a permanent ministry through which He should declare His will, and dispense his blessings to the whole body, and the main office in which should be that apostolic office which belongs characteristically to the new dispensation, seeing that it expresses the general oversight of Him, who no longer confines Himself to any particular nation, but has ascended up on high, that He might fill all things. Finally, in His written Scripture, wherein the whole progress and development of His kingdom, is in an orderly manner set forth; its nature and constitution explained; the meaning of its ordinances, and their inseparable and eternal connection with Himself, made intelligible.

I believe that of this body, thus constituted, Christ is the everliving present Head and Centre, and that by whatsoever means this truth and principle is set at nought, by that same means each of these institutions is set at nought, its meaning and power denied, its universality destroyed. I believe that this effect, that is to say, nothing less than the disorganization and decomposition of the whole body of the Church with the loss of

all its life, power, and energy, must have followed, if any of those heresies of the first ages by which Christ's Godhead or Humanity, or the unity of both in one person, was denied or explained away, or if any of those other heresies, by which the persons of the Godhead were confounded or its substance divided, had prevailed; and that the Church *was* dislocated and deadened just so far as they did prevail. I believe that the great teachers of the elder Church, who maintained the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity against these heresies, though they might speak of them as doctrines or dogmas, and might appeal to the testimony of foregone times in their support, did look upon them as great cardinal realities, as the very grounds upon which human life and human communion rest, and were convinced, that by the events of His providence, and by the course of history, God would demonstrate them to be so. I believe that though in one sense we may speak of these truths as dogmas of Scripture or dogmas of tradition, we do them and the purposes of God and our minds grievous wrong, if we do not remind ourselves continually, that they are only dogmas of Scripture and tradition, in the same sense as gravitation is the dogma of the Principia of Newton, and that they really are the grounds and laws of the moral and spiritual universe, just as gravitation is the ground and law of the physical universe. I believe that the Fathers lived and died for the support, not of dogmas, not of that which is *decreed*, of that which *seems*, but for the defence of that which *really is*; for this they said that man needed to know, and this, God, after long preparation, and many gradual discoveries, had revealed.

I believe, therefore, that the truth of the Incarnation may be set aside in acts as well as in words; that Christ's Headship of the Church, and the whole constitution of the Church, may be invaded by the very persons who in terms are asserting it; that a monstrous practical heresy may be introduced as the very excuse for supporting a correct dogmatical Christianity. I believe that the truth of the Incarnation, and therefore the whole constitution of the Church was invaded by an act, that a mighty practical heresy was invented for the sake of upholding that constitution, and of supporting a correct dogmatic Christianity, when the



Bishop of Rome declared himself the Vicegerent of Christ and the Head of Christendom. I believe that by this declaration, the truth that a communion had been established between the visible and the invisible world in the person of Christ, and that men had a right to call themselves members of Christ's kingdom, and united in him, was outraged and insulted. I believe that no human assumption or human denial can set aside an eternal truth, and therefore that it did continue to be the fact, that Christ was the present ruler of the Church; that He was ordering its arrangements, directing its ministers, manifesting himself in its sacraments, in spite of that audacious attempt to substitute a visible and dying man in his place. But I believe, also, that this great sin was permitted to cripple every institution of the Church, and to reduce it, so far as it could be reduced, from a living form into a dead formula. I believe that it was necessary to explain to the understanding of men, how it should be possible for them to be really united to their Lord in Baptism, or to enter into real communion with Him in the Eucharist: and that for this purpose the understanding was tasked to invent barren, logical explanations, which affronted the faculty to which they were addressed, and were invested with all the sacredness and awfulness of the mystery which they degraded and profaned. I believe that the Creed was changed from a form of living allegiance to a living Being, into a collection of dead words, and that the real sense and purpose of it being lost, it was found utterly inadequate for the purposes to which it was supposed to minister, and that therefore another creed, a creed of notions and opinions and dogmas, was needed as an addition to it, or substitute for it; which came to pass in the days of Pope Pius IV. I believe that the principle of Episcopacy was continually invaded, nay its very essence lost; for whereas every bishop should be able to look directly up to Christ, and know assuredly that from Him, and from no other, he receives his authority and commission to endue presbyters and deacons with those great powers which they also are to hold as witnesses of Christ's Presence in all his different offices in the Church, the bishop who submitted to this papal assumption felt of necessity that he derived his

authority and commission from a visible and local functionary, and so sunk, unless he learned a better wisdom by meditating on the plans of God, and the true order of the Church, into a poor secular creature, without any sense of high aims or mighty responsibilities; that, on the other hand, this same papal power was continually exerted to rob the bishops of their jurisdiction, and to set even laymen free from their controul. I believe that, owing to this assumption, forms of worship became mixed with idolatries, because the sense of a direct communion with the invisible God, through the one Mediator, was to the majority of men lost. I believe that, owing to this assumption, the Bible, which is the living practical book of the Church—the great instrument of human education—the key to the mysteries in the life of men—the help to the student in investigating the literature of nations—was deemed to be a mere collection of theories, and opinions, which must be hidden from the laity, because of theories and opinions they cannot for the most part take cognizance. I believe that, just in proportion as this usurpation prevailed, the East became hopelessly divided from the West, because no Greek ever can believe, or ever was meant to believe, that he is to receive commands from a Latin Bishop. I believe that wherever this assumption was recognized, each nation, with the king whom God has placed over it, felt itself to have an interest diverse from, and contradictory to that of the universal body; and that hence there were of necessity perpetual conflicts, contradictions, tumults, in which each side was right and each side wrong—in which the most precious and holy principles were exhibited in the most miserable contradiction. I believe that, owing to this assumption, it became most difficult for a common man to feel himself a true and living member of Christ's holy body, that the poor were always tempted to look upon the Church as a tremendous power overhanging them, which might crush them, and to which, therefore, they must do homage; the priest, as a machine, possessing certain invisible properties, of which he was moving the springs or wires; cultivated laymen, as a system of tricks to which they submitted one day, and at which they laughed the next.



I believe it to have been the good pleasure of God, that at the Reformation the two last of these evils which result from the headship of a visible ruler over the Church—I mean the evil to the existence of nations, and the evil to the individual soul of man—should be perceived, understood, and protested against. I believe that the distinct personal responsibility of Sovereigns to God, and that the personal responsibility of each man to God, and his need and right to claim union with Christ, in order that that responsibility might be fulfilled, were nobly and bravely asserted at that time. I believe that the assertion of these two great principles is Protestantism, because the discovery of them necessarily and inevitably led to a protest against the usurpation of the Pope over Christendom. I believe the consequence of these assertions was, for a time, the discovery of a real value in some of the great Church institutions, which had been turned into mere fictions; that the truth and grandeur of baptism were recognised; that the Creed, or at least that portion of it which refers to the acts of Christ in human flesh, was felt to be a living, and not a dead form; that the Bible recovered its glory as a living book.

I believe, that it was not the purpose of God to make men conscious, at that time, of the mischiefs which the Papal usurpation was working in the Church considered as a universal body; I believe that, owing to this cause, all those institutions which do not seem to connect themselves with the individual life, but rather with our condition as members of a body, were neglected; that the others received an interpretation which made them merely means and instruments of the individual faith and life, and therefore were deprived of their truest and highest signification.

I believe, therefore, that the nations of the Continent which became Protestant, became witnesses for the distinctness of nations and the distinctness of persons, but ceased to be witnesses for the existence of a universal body or family; that the nations which remained subject to the Pope of Rome continued to bear a kind of witness for the existence of such a family, but ceased altogether to be witnesses for the moral distinctness of

each man, for the moral distinctness of each nation. I believe, however, that each of these witnesses was for its own purpose most weak and unsatisfactory; that the Protestant kings were not able to preserve their true position, nor the Protestant nations to assert their true freedom; that individual life in them became more and more barren, ungenial, material; that, on the other hand, in the Papal nations, the Church of Christ became more and more lost in the Society of Jesus, till its very existence in the 18th century was turned into a dream and a jest. I believe that by the awful demonstrations of the French Revolution, and by the parody of Christian fraternization which the actors in it were allowed to present, God has been showing us of this generation, that we are come to a different cycle in the history of the world from that in which the Reformers lived; that our business is not chiefly to inquire, as theirs chiefly was, how each man's individual life is to be upheld, but rather upon what terms and conditions He has constituted society. I believe that if we turn away with cowardly eyes from the investigation of this problem, we never shall be able to investigate the other; that individual life must perish, if we do not discover the true law of social life, and are not ready, be it what it may, to submit to it. I believe that

"By ways most various,  
Or might I say, contrarious,"

by baffled efforts, by light unlooked for, by great judgments, by manifold blessings, by proud thoughts of what the human spirit was meant for and what it could do, by deep humiliations and abasements, by art and poetry, by the decay of genius, and the extinction of the idols whom the world was worshipping, by physical science and the feeling of law and certainty which it inspires, by the dissatisfaction which physical studies leave on the minds of those who feel that they are human beings and have human wants, by commercial enterprises, by the degradation which commerce brings after it, by wealth and poverty, by the devices and failures of political men, by historical researches, and the discovery of certain Hercules pillars which they cannot pass, by the great longings and discontents of cultivated men, by the deep groans and bitter misery of poor men, by the sins and



oppressions of the world, by the more shameful divisions of the Church, and by the unceasing cry, "Usque quo Domine?" from the saints that are beneath the altar, God has been preparing men in different parts of the earth to feel after those deep and eternal truths, which may be overlooked, or only seen in fragments and shadows, while we are busy with the problems of our personal life, but which come out in their fulness and power when we begin to study the bonds of our common humanity. I believe that it is God's will that we should now present these great truths to men, not merely as dogmas derived from the earliest ages, (though we may thank God with all our hearts that they have been so derived to us;) but in that more practical and real form in which they were presented to the men of the first ages themselves; as the solution of mysteries, for which there is no other solution; as the answers given by heaven to cries which have been sent up from earth. And I believe that this being the case, the Church, as embodied in those permanent institutions which belong to no age or nation, and which have in so wonderful a manner been preserved through so many variations of national customs and periods, may now come forth and present herself, not as a mere utterer of dogmas, which men must not dispute because they are afraid, but as the witness and embodier of those permanent realities, which earnest hearts feel that they need, and which they have been made willing by God's spirit in the day of His power to receive, and which when so set forth, will be denied at last only by those who deny their own moral being and responsibility; that she may present herself not as a body, whose chief function is to banish and anathematise, but as one from which none are excluded but those who exclude themselves, because they prefer division to unity, and the conditions of a party to the freedom of an universe.

I believe, that when any part of the Church is able to assert this position, grounding its own existence simply on the Incarnation of Christ, and putting forth all those institutions and ordinances which it has in common with Christendom, as the declaration of this Incarnation and of Christ's Headship over the Church, that part of it may be blessed by God, to be the

restorer of unity to the East and to the West, to the Church in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Greece, in Syria, and in Russia. But I believe, lastly, that in order that any part of the Church may do this, she must be ready to bear a continual unflinching *protest* against the attempt to perpetuate or establish a centre of visible unity in Rome, or in any city of the West, or of the East, because such an attempt has been proved by the awful experience of a thousand years, to be the means of destroying universality and spirituality in the Church, and because the reason why it ever has been so and ever must be so, becomes manifest to us the more we meditate upon the constitution of a Catholic Church, and upon the great Catholic verities which lie at the base of it.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant, &c.

F. M.

## LETTER II.

## THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

SIR,

I HAVE now stated the reasons which induce me, in spite of your anathema, to retain and to prize the name of Protestant. In what I have said, I have anticipated my answer to your charge against the English Church, that her character is ambiguous, because she calls herself both Catholic and Protestant. I have shown, I think, that she is not obliged to be half Catholic and half Protestant,—not obliged to chalk out a middle way, in the sense which you give to that phrase; but that it is possible for her, or for any other portion of the Church, to be most Catholic when she is most Protestant. Still, I think it important for the comfort of our own consciences, and for the right understanding of our relations to others, that we should examine more carefully what our position is; what acts of ours might be inconsistent with it; what acts might show our gratitude to God for it.

We shall not disagree about my first proposition. I say that those institutions were preserved to us at the time of the Reformation, which do not belong to us as individuals, or as members of a nation, but as members of a Christendom. Neither shall I be inclined to quarrel with you about the cause to which we should attribute this blessing. I believe the English Reformers to have been in mind and spirit like the foreign Reformers, occupied mainly with questions concerning national and individual life, very little with considerations respecting the being and order of the Universal Church. Whatever feelings they had upon this last subject had come to them traditionally, or were the accidental accompaniment of other feelings rather than the radical and governing portions of their mind. I do not therefore claim for them more than a passive acquiescence in, and submission to,



that will of God, which directs our ends, even when we are disposed to rough hew them. I do not seek to exalt the English Reformers, by claiming for them a particular wisdom and excellence which were wanting in their contemporaries abroad. I am not ashamed to say that I admire both very sincerely, because I believe that, amidst a great many errors and sins, they followed the leading of God's providence, keeping their eyes fixed upon that object upon which, in their time, and under their circumstances, it was right and fitting that they should be steadily, almost exclusively, fixed. If I adopted the habit which is fashionable in certain quarters, of disparaging and insulting them, I know what consequences would follow in my own mind; I know that instead of being able the better to reverence the early fathers of the Church, I should lose the sense of reverence altogether; having trampled upon the graves of those who are among us, and whom we have been taught from childhood to honour, I am quite sure that no more large or catholic feelings would ever grow up within me. I cannot tell how it would be with others, thus I know it would be with myself; and I shall be very sorry when the time comes that I learn to speak of Mahomet and Confucius, as some people delight to speak of Latimer and Luther. I do not find that reverence will come when I do call it, for the service of a particular idol, if I take revenge for the restraints which it has imposed upon me, by giving loose to my contempt and scorn upon all other occasions. On the other hand, while I acknowledge that wisdom was justified of her children at the time of the Reformation, while I acknowledge that they were maintaining the glory of the Invisible King and Mediator, against men who had sought to extinguish that glory under pretence of hiding it from common eyes, I can do homage to those fathers who asserted the same glory against the heresies which set it at nought in their day. Nevertheless, I repeat it, I do not claim for the Reformers the merit of preserving Catholic institutions among us; it is altogether a wonder that they should have been preserved, and as a wonder I would receive them, and give thanks for them.

But, secondly: These institutions have come down to us

clogged with a protest against the Bishop of Rome. That protest was made not less strongly, but more strongly, by our Church, than by those from whom she derived it; more strongly, because it was the effect of no sudden start of individual feeling. The protest against the Romish usurpation over the rights of sovereigns, had been going on for centuries; the only difference was, that this came into coincidence with the individual protest which had hitherto been denounced and kept down, and that as the one was put forth by the sovereign himself, the other was adopted by a great portion of the Bishops and Clergy. And thus it has come to pass, that if we inherit a church, possessing all Catholic institutions, we inherit a church, which is subject to this protest—which made it once, and is making it now. Our Bishops declared that they had a spiritual authority independent of the Bishop of Rome. They exercised that authority in condemning the theory of the Eucharist, which he had pronounced to be necessary to it, and necessary to salvation. They renounced the innovations which the Bishop of Rome had sanctioned in the old liturgies; they used their own discretion in arranging the old forms, and even in introducing new forms; they did acts of homage to the king as, over all causes ecclesiastical and civil within his own dominions, supreme. I leave out of consideration the articles which they compiled for the use of the ministers of the church and for those who should receive a learned education from her. Whatever may be thought about those articles, the other acts which I have mentioned, were distinctly protesting acts; acts which brought us as completely under the ban of Rome, as any that were done in Switzerland or Germany. They are acts which could not cease with the time in which they were first performed. We are performing them or other acts which involve them every day now. We are therefore a protesting church. I do not use the words because I wish to urge upon any person, who disapproves the protest, the duty of leaving her; I believe that it may be, and in nine cases out of ten it is, a very solemn duty for us to remain in the church wherein we are born, though we dislike many of the conditions under which she exists; and I have no sympathy whatever with the language about dishonesty



and inconsistency, which certain writers among us so readily and wantonly use. But I wish simply to state facts. We may cease to be Protestants, but at present we are Protestants, and have been so for the last three hundred years. Say, if you please, that the position is a wrong one; but do in plain truth and honesty confess that it is ours. Either do not on the one hand charge us with the sin τοῦ αἰρεῖν ἢ αἰρεῖσθαι, because we do *not* wish to choose for ourselves, but to maintain the ground which God has given us; or else, do not charge the Romanists in our land with being schismatics; for if our Bishops and Priests took up a false heretical position at the Reformation, these Romanists are the witnesses for the true order of the Church—not worse than their brethren abroad, but far better, because more courageous and self-sacrificing.

A third point must be distinctly taken notice of, though it has been touched upon already. If our Church is both Catholic and Protestant, our Nation is wholly Protestant. In so far forth as we are a nation, united together under one king, we do by the very law of our existence protest against any power which assumes control over our kings, and denies their direct responsibility to God. The nation's position is, and always must be, a protesting position. Whether it follows as a matter of course that a nation and a church are incompatible with each other, that one must perish if the other is to live, is of course the very question in debate between us. I believe that the nations were brought into their distinct life by the church—that they cannot retain their distinct life without the church; and that conversely, the universal body sinks into a contradiction, when it refuses to recognise the personality of each national body. Be that as it may, the question as to England is one of history, and not one of speculation. We are not striving to make ourselves a Protestant nation now: we have been so implicitly at all times; explicitly since the Reformation. We are not entering into alliances with Protestant powers now. It was the policy of our ablest princes—not since the Revolution of 1688, as some would tell us, but very much more evidently before it—to enter into alliances almost exclusively with them. Since that time, con-



siderations respecting the balance of power have been the governing feelings in the minds of our statesmen. All the wars, from the Peace of Ryswick down to the middle of the reign of George III., were entered upon mainly from such considerations. On the other hand, it has been a charge often preferred against the liberal governments of late years, that they have departed from the old Elizabethan doctrines, both in their internal and external policy. I have nothing to do with the right or the wrong of these complaints; that they were not made simply by that class which is known by the name of ultra-Protestants, every one must be aware. The principle of the king's direct responsibility to God, which is the Reformation principle, was asserted—in language which seems to me dangerous and profane, but which was at all events a distinct denunciation of the Romish principle—by Sacheverel and by the High Church School of his day, and of subsequent days. In our own times, Sir Robert Peel was deprived of the representation of Oxford, because he was supposed to be violating the principle of Protestantism, considered as a principle of internal government; and, if my memory do not fail me, one of the strongest documents in opposition to him was drawn up and signed by Mr. Keble. With respect to the other branch of the question, so lately as the year 1832, Lord Palmerston and the Cabinet of Lord Grey were denounced, as I remember, in no measured language, by men who were esteemed then and are esteemed now, the highest Churchmen, in consequence of the alliance which we formed with Belgium and France against Calvinistical Holland. So that the Protestant principle, in connection with our national life, is at all events not one to be anathematized as something strange and novel; we ought to abandon it, perhaps, but those who say so should distinctly confess they are calling upon us to forsake an ancient course, not warning us to beware of a new one.

You may say, 'All this may be very true; but we have awakened up of late years to the perception of the importance of our Catholic institutions, and we will not rest till these have eliminated Protestantism in every form, whether as the condition of our Church, or the characteristic of our nation.' Well,

this is different ground, but I am quite ready to meet you upon it. I admit that we have been awakened to this perception; and it is very important to observe what the process of awakening has been. I said in my former letter, that we may trace in all directions the feeling after a different end or object from that which was the main end and object of men's minds at the Reformation. This change may be discovered in all the schemes for universal societies which during the last fifty years have been so rife—in all the projects for bringing men together, without reference to tribe or family feeling to religious opinions or faith—in all the theories and projects which it has been customary to attribute, either in praise or condemnation, to the genius of Liberalism. Now, when this habit of mind found its way into England, it took many forms, adapted to our character and position; but the most practical and prevalent form which it assumed, was that of religious societies, wherein men fraternized, either altogether without respect to their opinions, or on what was called the footing of a common orthodoxy. That which mainly opposed itself to these manifestations was the national character of the English Church; the Dissenters were excluded by the State from some of its privileges and immunities; Episcopacy was recognized in laws and acts of Parliament; separation was regarded as a thing irregular, disorderly, un-English; therefore all attempts to raise it through some religious pretext to the same level with the Established Church, were resented as mischievous and destructive of national feeling. Then came the discovery—'No, this is not the reason why such societies are wrong, why Churchmen and Dissenters cannot amalgamate; were it merely this, it might be overreached by the religious arguments which have been produced in favour of association. But the reason itself is a religious one; the Church is a body not established by men, but constituted by God; it is embodied and declared to men in certain institutions; these institutions the Dissenters have rejected; they have rejected, therefore, the bonds of Catholic unity, and we cannot create a new Catholic unity, in order to meet them.'

Such, I say, was the language which, a few years ago, began



to supersede the state or national language in the minds of a great many Churchmen. I do not say that it was new language in England: those who used it were able to produce abundant precedents, nay, to show that there had been a stream of precedents in the English Church in favour of it. But in one sense it was new language, more new than either those who advanced it, or those who rejected it, were aware. The English writers, to whom they 'appealed as their forerunners and authorities, were in the strictest sense English; though they might hereafter expect a union with other parts of Christendom, their main purpose and interest was to assert the peculiarities of the Anglican Church. By whatever names, therefore, they might be called, they were vehemently Anti-Romanist, as well as vehemently Anti-Lutheran. But those who adopted them as their guides, had been led into quite a different state of feeling from this; they were carried on, though they knew it not, by that great Catholic movement which all parts of Europe have experienced; their ground of admiration for those institutions which were preserved in the English Church, was not that they were English, or even ancient, but that they were Universal. I say they were not conscious of this fact themselves, and therefore they said with great simplicity, that they wished to be Anglicans and nothing else. But it was quite impossible, in the nature of things, that they should continue to feel thus. It was quite impossible that the more earnest and the better part of them could look upon those elements in our life, which are especially to connect us with all people, merely as barriers, to banish and exclude. Supposing these institutions did exclude the Dissenters of England, yet that could not be the meaning of their existence. They have not been preserved for eighteen centuries by such a wonderful Providence, only that we might be able to say to men of pious dispositions, 'You have no part or lot with us;' if that be their effect, it must be an accidental effect; they must have been established for just the opposite reason. Men of kindly and Christian tempers began to perceive indications in the writings of the Dissenters, that they wanted institutions such as these, and were endeavouring to invent them for themselves. They began to

open their eyes to the fact previously hidden from them, that people elsewhere were craving after Catholic union as well as themselves; that, in fact, it is the desire which God is bringing out in men of this age, and which only makes itself more evident from the efforts of the evil spirit to draw them into greater conflicts and a more selfish position. Seeing this, they became impatient of their Anglicanism. They began to say, It is a very narrow, close, selfish thing after all; possibly it was a step to something better; but now that we have found the better thing, we may throw aside the step; the great point is, how we may enter into fellowship with the Church at large, the Church Catholic. Hence have grown up those desires for union, if it can be obtained, with the nations which are still subject to the Papal Hierarchy—hence, that inclination to pass over or extenuate all the faults of which that Hierarchy has been guilty—hence, that craving after a visible centre of unity, by which honest persons, who, as they express it, “had gone a certain way with the Oxford School,” have been startled and scandalized, and which have given its bitterer opponents an excuse for saying, that its members concealed their opinions under a specious national form, till the time was come for fully disclosing them.

On the contrary, those who from the first discovered in these writers a far too narrow, pinched, and exclusive spirit, (needful perhaps in men who were particularly called to witness for a faith delivered once for all, and not to be created by men’s fancies, or to be various as they are various,) but still which harmonized very ill with the character of the truths they were contending for—those who felt that they were far too much disposed to reduce the *forms* which connect us with God and with our brethren into logical *formulas* (a fault very natural in men whose discipline had been exclusively Aristotelian, but most dangerous in the witnesses for Sacraments, which, by their very nature, transcend the dry and imperfect language of human conceptions)—such persons are able to look at the change which has taken place in the tone of this school, with far less wonder and far more charity. The kind of Anglicanism which it professed involved a Catholicism which would certainly destroy the shrine which con-



tained it, or be destroyed by it. Their view of the Church, partly as divine, heavenly, sacramental, partly as contained in the opinions and theories and notions of human writers, must either expand or shrivel, either point the way to that New Jerusalem which is free and above and the mother of us all, or sink into an earth-born system needing a visible head and a universal dogmatist to give it any vitality or stability. At present it seems to me, that the two opposite principles of this school are wrestling in a death embrace: in the humble and true the good principle, whatever struggles it may have to pass through, must be at last victorious; those who resort to the phrases either of Anglicanism or Catholicism, for the purpose of indulging that restlessness and bitterness and scorn, which they are so ready to attribute to others, will assuredly exhibit the evils which are, as I think, latent in their scheme, though they have been as yet partially neutralized by its better elements.

But in the mean time we may derive, I conceive, great instruction from the lessons which the history of this school affords us. It began with asserting that we have a peculiar English position to maintain, different either from that of the Romanists or of the Continental Protestants: is not the assertion plainly and obviously true? It has discovered at last that we cannot make the possession of certain universal blessings a mere national boast, that they ought to be our bonds with other nations: is not this assertion true also? They are rapidly throwing aside all Anglican and national feeling. Do not our hearts and consciences tell us that they are thereby sustaining a grievous loss, that they are destroying links of affection which subsist between them and other generations, that they are cultivating tastes and preferences of their own—a sentimental attachment to foregone ages—and are parting with the actual human sympathies which might make the others not fantastic but real? Have we not then a clear indication of the truth, that the things which they would separate are really one, that the national bond and the Church bond are not incompatible, though they cannot be the same, that we may bring the two parts of our lives into reconciliation, that the one may be the helper and not the hinderer of the other?

Supposing this were so, it might still be very difficult for us to chalk out a path for ourselves; but we must believe that what we cannot effect, God's providence will, and that, by watching His providence, we may be able to guide our steps aright. Our object is clear; we are to aim at entering into communion with all Christian people, so far as we can do so without sacrificing any of those principles upon which communion itself rests. We are to desire that we may profit by all the advantages of our ecclesiastical and national position for the purpose of obtaining this communion. We are to count it a sin to sacrifice either our ecclesiastical or our national position, for the sake of obtaining it. With these thoughts for our guidance, let us consider two or three possible cases, upon which we may be called to deliberate.

First, let us imagine a proposition coming to us from the Bishop of Rome himself. He expresses himself willing, upon certain terms, to negotiate with us. He will overlook many sins that we committed three centuries ago, and many that we have committed since; he will pardon all the hard words that we have used about him and his predecessors; he will not require any direct acknowledgment of his temporal authority; he will not bind us to any set terms in which we shall confess his supremacy—let it be called merely a Primacy, if we like that word; only let us proclaim ourselves a part of that great Western Church, of which he is *de facto* the head; only let us submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent, so far as to renounce and repudiate all connexion with those who set light by Sacraments and the unity of the Church; let the precise terms in which we express the mystery of the Eucharist be left to future consideration; at present the Father of Christendom only desires to heal the breaches of the Church, and to restore the broken limbs of it into the unity of the body. Can we conceive better or more reasonable terms than these? Is it likely that any so reasonable will ever be proposed? But let us suppose that the effort at reconciliation goes ten times further; that nothing, actually nothing, is proposed to us, but simply to allow such a supremacy in the Bishop of Rome as he had before the



time of Hildebrand, or, if you will, in the time of Gregory the Great. Supposing this, and then I say, that to enter into such a compact as this, would be a shameless and godless desertion of the position which has been given us, that it would be a more sinful and more mischievous act now than in any former age; because, by it, we should more wilfully compromise a principle. Our fathers did not know what was involved in the recognition of a visible headship. Hildebrand did not know it; though he must have allowed some falsehood to steal into his mind, before he could have ventured upon his sinful assumption; yet it was a falsehood mixed with a great truth. He wished to assert the supremacy and universality of the Church, against the state rulers who were trampling it down. The dream of such a power vested in the successors of St. Peter, rose up before his imagination, clothed itself with the precedents of past history, looked most beautiful beside the mailed forms of military tyrants, till it grew into a reality which he did not impose upon other men's minds till it had first taken the fullest possession of his own. Of one so tempted, and who showed so little of personal selfishness as Hildebrand did, let no one dare to judge harshly. But let us judge most harshly of ourselves, if, with the book of God's dealings lying open before us to make it manifest how this imagination of a man has obscured and contradicted the great idea of God in the institution of his Church, we venture, through any restless notion that we can hasten on the purposes of the Almighty or establish a unity in a way in which he has not established it, to bring upon ourselves a bondage which neither this age nor any past age has been able to bear.

But suppose again, that the Bishops of some Church which is now in subjection to the Bishop of Rome, should say to us, 'We do not hold you excommunicated, because you assert the dignity of your Bishops, and their direct subjection to Christ; we believe that you have the Sacraments, the Creeds, the Episcopacy, all those institutions which are the bonds of a common life, and are not merely connected with particular congregations or particular nations: we can and we will meet you upon the

basis of these institutions. We will not ask you to tell us what your theory of the Sacraments is, neither will we tell you what ours is; we will receive them together as witnesses and bonds of Christ's continual presence with us. We will not ask you to receive any of the customs or rules which belong to us as members of a national church, neither will we receive any of the customs or rules which belong to you as a national church: we will meet merely on the ground of our allegiance to the universal Head, realized through those institutions which He has bequeathed.' I say, were such a proposition as this made to us by any of the Western Churches, should we have a right to inquire minutely before we received them as brethren, whether their language upon the topics which are in dispute between us and the Romanists, accord more nearly with that of the Thirty-nine Articles, or with that of the Council of Trent? I think, certainly not; having once united in an invisible Head, and not in a visible, we may leave the rest to God. Having that great ground of fellowship, we are bound to follow the apostolic rule, and to entertain the apostolic faith, "Where to we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing, and if in any thing we or they be otherwise minded, God will reveal this unto us." We will not and cannot abandon any distinction that we have perceived; we will not and cannot desert any form of sound words which has been given to us. But the more clear and free our own minds are, the more they have benefitted by the instruction with which we have been blessed, the more may they be able to see a true meaning working under a different, and what seems to us a more confused, mode of expression. This is not an unsafe doctrine, it is the most safe of all doctrines. There is nothing so unsafe, as the habit of tying ourselves hopelessly and helplessly to certain shibboleths of expression; nothing so likely to deprive us of the very meaning which those shibboleths indicate. And it is a weighty consideration, that men, if they be honest, cannot throw aside old forms of thought and expression; they are intertwined with the holiest mysteries to which their hearts pay homage: if they are unnaturally and unnecessarily connected, still it is a cruel thing rudely to divorce



them. Under pretence of removing a falsehood, you are almost sure to destroy a truth. It is therefore more than a kindly act, it is a solemn duty, to bear with things which seem to us dangerous in language, and even in practice, provided we do not ourselves conform to them. We are least likely to conform to them, our children are least likely to conform to them, when they do not come forth associated with the sound faith and feelings of persons whom we repudiate. Those persons are most likely to be cured of them, when they feel that they can have a Christian communion upon another basis than that of the visible headship, by which every error has been ratified and sanctified.

So far in reference to the Western Church; I will now turn to the Eastern. The case here would be far simpler, nay, there would be no case at all corresponding to the one of the proposed alliance with the Roman Bishop, but for circumstances which are accidental and not essential, to the constitution of the Greek Church. Unfortunately, however, accidental circumstances may have the greatest effect in practically preventing unity, even when there is a basis of agreement, and even when there is a really favourable inclination on both sides. Such a hindrance is especially found in the relations between the Muscovite government and the Greek church. Assuredly it would be most wicked to visit the sins of that government upon the body which it oppresses with the name of protection, wicked even to judge harshly of men who, when menaced by Romish intrigues, fly to that protection as to a blessing. But still the fact cannot be concealed, that while the tyranny of an universal pontiff is far more dangerous in principle, the tyranny of an universal emperor is far more degrading and brutalizing. Now, Sir, supposing propositions for union and fellowship should come to us, not from the Bishops of Greece, or the Bishops of Syria, or even from the Bishops of Russia, except as blind and passive agents, but from the Imperial Government, it is perfectly certain what kind of propositions those would be. The Russian Autocrat, having no perception of the distinct rights of nations, hating every principle which involves the acknowledgment of them, hating the Pope—not as an invader of the honours of Christ but simply as a dangerous rival to his power,

as one who seems to hold together the elements of Latin life in the Southern nations, and so to be in some sense a barrier against a Slavonic irruption—would call upon us to unite with him in anathematising Protestants, to unite with him in denouncing the Bishop of Rome, and upon these terms would be quite ready to permit Greek Christians to hug the Christians of the far West. But such hateful propositions as these, exhibiting such utter ignorance, not of one, but of both the elements which exist in our English life, exhibiting the most entire alienation of spirit from everything Catholic as well as from everything Protestant, we should be bound, by every covenant which binds us to God, by every oath of allegiance we make to our sovereign, indignantly to reject. They would be a mockery of the name of Unity; and the person who urged us to accept them, should be treated as one that calls upon a besieged city to surrender to enemies who would sack it the moment after they had accepted its capitulation.

But supposing the Bishops of Syria, or of Greece, or of any other part of the world in which it is possible to speak, though in muffled accents, the language of freemen, were to declare that they had, through many a long year and trying struggle, asserted the headship of Christ over His Church, and that God had been pleased to preserve to them forms and institutions, which were links of connexion with the days of Chrysostom and Athanasius; suppose them to tell us that they had heard of a nation in the West, which acknowledges this same invisible headship, and honours these same institutions, and that they wish to own us and hail us as brethren, upon no other grounds than these—are we to reject such kindly offers, because those, who for ages have been ground down by Mahomedan oppressors and tormented by Romish seducers, do not exhibit all the fruits of wisdom and of love, which we should wish to see in them and in ourselves? Surely we have too many grounds of penitence and humiliation for our own manifold transgressions under conditions so much more fortunate, to demand anything of them, which God by His heavy judgments and trials has not demanded already. No doubt we wish to see them purged of all super-



stitutions and idolatries. Are there no means by which we can help to purify them, without either participating in their evil, or casting off those whom Christ has not cast off? The only question, therefore, which I should make in this case is, not whether we ought to accept such overtures if they were made to us, but whether we ought not to originate the overtures, to be ourselves the heralds of peace.

I come, lastly, to our relations with the Protestant bodies of the Continent. That a relation of some kind does exist between us and these bodies, and that the common feeling of Englishmen pronounces it to be very close and intimate, we have seen already. And if that common feeling were to utter itself, it would say, that this relation is emphatically a religious one, while those relations with the Romanists and Greeks, of which I have just spoken, are merely formal relations. On the contrary, ecclesiastics and canonists generally, would say, that there is actually no *religious* bond between us and the foreign Protestants, for they have put themselves out of the pale of the Church. These opinions are, to all appearance, hopelessly contradictory: no wonder that those who hold either of them, should use language of some vehemence in denouncing their opponents. Yet there is something of diffidence in the way in which each opinion is expressed. Those who are most inclined in principle to press for a union with foreign Protestants, are yet very apt to dwell upon certain peculiarities in their history and opinions, which may make a closer alliance dangerous. Those who feel themselves most compelled by the rules and maxims which they acknowledge respecting the constitution of the Church to declare that the Calvinists and Lutherans form no part of it, do yet almost universally (you, Sir, are the only exception with which I am acquainted) interpose such qualifications as these, 'Not that we are judges,' 'God only knows;' 'They may be Churchmen, though we cannot see how.' This hesitation, on both sides, ought at least to make us pause, and ask ourselves whether there may not be some principle in the popular doctrine, which the ecclesiastics cannot afford to despise, and some meaning in the ecclesiastical doctrine, which cannot be got rid of by talking of

our charity, and by calling all persons Bigots and Papists who disagree with us.

In the first place, it seems to me clear, that in this case, as in most others, the reasons which are given for the ordinarily received notion, are very inadequate to sustain it. We are told that we can unite with Protestants, because we have a common enemy. It may be so; but unless that enemy is aiming at some common possession of ours, this is but a poor and negative basis for religious fellowship; one which we ought in every case to discard as unworthy. Then, secondly, it may be said, that our common possession is a certain great truth respecting man's personal justification. Now is it meant, that the *truth* of a man's being justified by faith, or the *opinion* that men are so, is the ground of fellowship? If the former, the proposition is self-contradictory; for the justification of each man is, by the hypothesis, a single personal act; and though it may be argued, that a community of such justified men forms a Church, yet that notion, whatever form it assumes, does not apply to the question now before us. If the latter be meant, it seems to be most inconsistent with the idea of justification, that Opinion should be our bond of union. At all events Calvin and Luther thought so. They affirmed that Christ is a real King, and that the members of His Church are, on some ground or other, really related to Him. A mere notion or theory about Him and His Kingdom, seemed to them the most different thing possible from an actual creed or belief in it. And these two principles, that there is no union merely in opposition to a third party, or merely in the confession of a certain principle relating to individuals, are, it seems to me, the great results and moral of the history of Protestantism—strikingly confirmed by those diversities of opinion which make the most vehement English Protestants oftentimes the most inclined to stand aloof from the Protestants of Germany and Switzerland.

But then does there not come out of these very considerations a clear proof that the common English feeling is right, though it cannot prove itself right? that we have a real meeting point with the Protestants, though both they and we may have



blundered in our perception of what it is? Why is the Pope our common enemy, but because he assails the idea of Christ being directly related to his Church? What was the doctrine of justification by faith, but the attempt to assert this truth in reference to each member of the Church? Here then, I say, is a common ground—the acknowledgment of Christ, not as the Head of individual men, but of the universal Society; the acknowledgment that He is the Centre of Unity, and that men are either united in this Centre, or not at all.

Now if we turn to the ecclesiastical or canonical view, we shall see, I think, both how much justification there is for it, and wherein it fails. It affirms that the Church is constituted in a certain manner, that we are not merely a set of individuals clubbing together our different acts of faith and feeling, nor a set of men united in the profession of certain opinions, but that we are really and truly an organic body, constituted in Christ, and connected with him by certain ordinances, which derive their life from him. Does not this principle, when it is thus set forth, commend itself to the hearts and consciences of numbers of those who most exult in the names of Protestants and Bible Christians? Do not they feel that it more nearly answers to the idea of a Church which is haunting them at all times, and which is developed in the Scriptures, than the one which, in terms at least, they have been used to defend?

But why then do Bible Christians pronounce the ecclesiastics to be mere formalists? Such denunciations would be monstrously unjust, if the ecclesiastics were consistent with themselves; if they habitually asserted that the body of the Church cannot be understood without reference to its Head; that the constitution is nothing except as manifesting and presenting Him. And such denunciations would be felt to be unjust, if in strict conformity with this principle we were content to admit, that it is a violation, not of some individual principle, not of some doctrine concerning personal salvation, but of the order and constitution of the Church, when any visible man is made the centre of it—if, consequently, we admitted that those who *retain the distinct acknowledgment of Christ's*

*Headship, rejecting some of those great Catholic ordinances which are needful for the manifestation of it, are at all events not attacking the Order, Permanence, Unity, of the Church Catholic, more than those who, retaining the ordinances, have practically denied the Lord of them, and so have robbed them of their significancy.*

If Christ's Church be a Kingdom, it must be very wrong to dispense with the institutions which embody it. But it must be more wrong to deny the King himself. The one I think has been done by Protestants, the other by Romanists. If it be lawful in such a matter to use earthly analogies, the case of the one is that of the counsellors of Charles, in the years between 1629 and 1640, who wished to look upon him apart from his Parliaments and from all the ancient institutions of the country, and merely to tender him the tribute of their personal affection and homage; the act of the other is that of the Lords and Commons, between 1642 and 1648, trying to constitute themselves a power independent of him, nay, even carrying on war against him, though they avowedly performed all their acts in his name.

Now this statement I do not put forth, as the former part of this letter will prove, for the purpose of making out a worse case against Romanists, but for the purpose of proving, that if we have, as I have tried to show that we have, points of Church sympathy with them, so we have a grand point of Church, contradistinguished from individual and national, sympathy with the Protestants of the Continent. If we have no right, as I think we have no right, to say we will not commence a fellowship with the different branches of the Western Church, provided they will relinquish their gross anti-Church, anti-Catholic heresy, merely because we fancy that the falling into that heresy was an act of apostacy; so we have no right to say that we will not make the ground of sympathy which we have with the Protestants the commencement of a fellowship with them, provided they do not continue to reject the institutions which make communion between different nations possible, merely because we presume that they have, by rejecting those institutions, put them-



selves out of the Church. In either case, if we pronounce such judgments, we are going beyond our commission, nay, we are breaking an actual law. We may make out by implication and construction, that a given act is an act of apostacy, and it may have that appearance, and may even produce the effects which such an act would produce, and to us it may be so really; and apostacy may finally take just such a form. But God has not given us any warrant to say, this man, or this Church, has committed such an act: that judgment He has reserved to Himself. He has forbidden us under awful penalties to meddle with it. We may make out in like manner, by implication and construction, that this or that man, or this or that body, has cut all the links which bind him, or it, to God's Church upon earth. And it may be that many of these links have been cut, and that there is a danger of all being cut, and that if we imitated such an example, we should destroy our spiritual life altogether. But Samson, blinded and mocked, may still have locks wherein lies the mighty and invisible strength, that shall hereafter be developed; and we are Philistines and not Israelites if we join in the mockery, and deny its existence. We are tempting God, not more by our profane assumption of His rights, than by our proud scorn of those for whom He cares, and over whom He is watching for good and not for evil, to visit our heavier sins upon us, and to desert us far more utterly than He has ever deserted them.

Having shown, then, that we have a point of Church fellowship with Continental Protestants, I will now endeavour to show, how I think we may not, and how I think we may, make use of that advantage. Supposing it were proposed to us by a body of Lutheran or Calvinistic ministers, that because we are Protestants, because we object to the Church of Rome, because we hold those doctrines respecting personal justification which the Reformers held, we should, therefore, recognise their congregations as organised and rightly constituted bodies, and should as such enter into fellowship with them—I think that according to the principles which I have laid down, we are bound to reject such an invitation. I should express the rejection in some such



terms as these: "That which is the bond of fellowship with the Christians of other nations, must be something which is not national, nor individual, but universal. If we make individual life the foundation of union, we set that up in place of Christ, we substitute our own Election for the Righteousness and Holiness of Christ. We cannot unite as Christians upon a national principle, though it may be a great duty, as Christians, to uphold national life—for it is in its nature exclusive. Now Bishops being as we believe the witnesses and representatives of Christ's universal kingdom, are the very instruments of our communion with other nations. If there be no such institution—no apostleship—in the Church now, then the Church has lost its universal character; then the idea of the Church as existing for all space and all time, perishes; then the commission, 'Go ye into all nations,' has no persons to whom it is directed. We cannot then recognise a Church without Bishops. We cannot do it for our own sakes, because we believe that we have a solemn trust and responsibility to uphold this great universal institution of Episcopacy; because we believe that it has been preserved to us in a wonderful manner for the last three centuries, when there was scarcely anything in our minds to make its meaning intelligible; because we believe that all the circumstances of this age are declaring to us its purpose and its necessity. And we cannot do it for your sakes. We will not use the name of charity, when we have rejected the thing. Now it is not charity to tell you, that you have not lost in a great measure the sense of being members of a Catholic body, for your wisest men know that you have. It is not charity to tell you, that you have any means of resisting the *appearance* of a Catholic Church which there is among the Romanists; for the practical power of Romanism in Germany and in every country of the Continent, together with the desertions of your own poets and artists to it, prove that you have not. It is not charity to hide the fact, that you have been unable to preserve the Church from the dominion of the State; for every act you do, almost every word you utter, confesses it. It is not charity to forget, that a Pantheistic Church on one side, or a Romanist on the other, must be the alternative, if you cannot find some other

means of supporting Catholicity than either ; for every thoughtful person in Europe, be his feelings or opinions what they may, perceives that this must be the issue. It is, therefore, not charity to tell you that you can dispense with an institution, which, if received livingly and practically, in the way we believe that you have been prepared by God's discipline and grace to receive it, as the witness, and not as the substitute, for Christ's presence, might be the remedy for all these evils."

But now, suppose (I may be putting a much more improbable case than any which has yet come under our notice, but bear with my extravagance) that a King of one of those Protestant nations, with which we ought according to the maxims of policy admitted for so many hundred years, sanctioned by so many Church authorities, repudiated only by certain very ultra-liberal statesmen and by you, to be on terms of friendship; suppose, I say, one of these Kings should be convinced by any arguments, it signifies not whether they be state arguments or religious arguments, that it would be a good thing to unite with us in a great religious work; supposing, after considering all the difficulties of the case, he should have seen the utter impracticability of carrying it out in conjunction with us, unless he did homage to that institution of Episcopacy, in the acknowledgment of which our nation differs from his; supposing that he should therefore ask us to unite with him in conducting this work by means of a Bishop; suppose he should submit the whole ordination of this Bishop to the direction of our Church, requiring only that we should perform it according to our own Catholic principle; supposing anything so utterly strange and unlooked for as this should come to pass, what, I ask you, would be the duty of our own English Episcopacy? You must allow me to put the case as I choose. I imagine then that the measure is not of their seeking, that they have acted on the principle—Our strength is to sit still—that they are merely asked whether they will assist this design or repudiate it. What ought they to do? I should say, Sir, the question would be determined by this consideration, Whether they prized Episcopacy, or whether they did not prize it; whether they looked upon it as the great



blessing of our Church that she possessed it, and the great calamity of the Protestants abroad that they wanted it; or whether they looked upon the institution as a thing perfectly indifferent in the designs of God, and to the good of man. For they must say to themselves, "Here is the most satisfactory recognition of Episcopacy as a permanent institution and yet as one especially adapted to this day, which we could have received from any quarter; here is the clearest evidence that God Himself is leading men to feel that it is not a dry, formal thing, but a real practical thing. Here is a noble confession on the part of the head of a state, that even for political purposes the State is not sufficient—that there must be a Church. Here is a way whereby we can testify of that Catholic position which we Englishmen occupy, in our dealings with Protestants. Here is a practical lesson to Protestants of the steps which they must take, in order that they may have a real communion with us, and in order that we and they may bear that witness which as Protestants we are meant to bear against a visible centre, and for Christ as the Head of His Church. As, therefore, it would, I conceive, be a sin to accept those other invitations to union of which I have spoken, so it would, on precisely the same principle and for the same reasons, be a sin to reject this. But what, if this Protestant King, or any of his Protestant subjects, after performing this act, should continue to use language which seems to import that the religious bodies of his country may preserve their existence, without that institution to which in this way he has been doing homage; nay, what if he should interpret this very act into a *quasi* recognition of them under their old character? Why, Sir, I should apply precisely the same principles in this case, which I applied in both the others. I did not require the Romanist formally to abjure the doctrines in which he has been trained from his infancy; I required him only to assert the Headship of Christ, and to unite with us upon the footing of those universal institutions which we have in common. If he asked us to do any act inconsistent with our position and professions, that would be a different matter; but I have said already, and I say it again, I honour him the more for not throw-

ing off his old language, for not adopting ours; I should suspect him if he did otherwise. The application to this case is most obvious. Shall I require the German, or the Helvetian, or the Dutchman to say, I have had no Church, not even the dream of one, I come to ask one from you? God forbid. If he can say such words, he does himself a deep moral injury; he is in almost certain peril of making his own assertion true, not only now, but always. No, if we would make him a Churchman in deed and in truth, if we would bind him to the Church Catholic, and induce him to relinquish whatever prejudices have kept him apart from it, let us allow him to lay fast hold of every portion of truth which he possesses, of every institution which belongs to him, let us rejoice to hear him call what seems to us but the fragment of a Church, by that great and glorious name; let us rejoice to see him passionate, even furious, when we appear to quarrel with the title. All hail to such feelings! they are the proofs that he loves the idea of a Church, that he will not be content till he has fully realized it. Am I to require, again, that he should abjure his fathers, that he should talk of their acts as sins, instead of giving God thanks for them as his benefactors? Again I say, God forbid! If he do this, he will never become a Churchman; his fault has been too great indifference to the memories and traditions of other days, too much disposition to exalt his own. If you take away this deep feeling of affection for the past, he never will have any other; you have taken away the seed out of which any such fruits might have developed themselves. Or, lastly, would I have him abandon the national feeling which he possesses, and not stickle for all honour to be paid to his nation, and not refuse to receive any dictation from ours? Surely, this would be as bad a wish as either of the others. His national feeling is his strength; it is the point upon which we can sympathize with him; it is that to which, for our own sakes as well as his, we are bound to do homage. For if we do not, it is as much as saying, that this institution which we say he wants, and we wish him to adopt, is a National Institution; it is as much as saying, that we want him to be an Anglican, which he cannot be, and not a Catholic,



which he can be. I say, therefore, that if such a contingency as this should ever arrive, we are bound to avail ourselves of it; and that, so far from being hindered from so doing, by discovering that those with whom it brings us into contact have strong and deep feelings, with which they are not ready to part, this should be our greatest encouragement to hope that a harvest of blessings is yet in store for them.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant, &c.,

F. M.

---

## LETTER III.

## THE BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

SIR,

THE document which introduces your second pamphlet, announces that the dream with which I concluded my last letter, has been realized. Such a proposition as I imagined, has actually come from a Protestant Sovereign. It is the object of your "Aids to Reflection" to show that the Heads of the English Church, by listening to it, have incurred the guilt of schism. I mean to consider the arguments by which you support this opinion seriatim. But there are some points in the proposal for founding a Bishopric at Jerusalem, which bear directly upon our own ecclesiastical circumstances; and of these I wish to take notice before I enter upon the question, How far it brings us into a true or false position in reference to continental Protestants.

You have been used, I doubt not, (it is the common fashion at Oxford,) to divide English Churchmen into two classes. One class, you would say, considers all Church order and institutions as subordinate and accidental to individual faith and holiness; the other looks upon individual faith and holiness as the fruits of allegiance to, and fellowship with, the Church. But any one, who has had an opportunity of observing the actual feelings of men in what is called the religious world, will soon perceive that it is not at all accurately bisected by the line which I have just drawn. One element has been left entirely out of the calculation; I mean the feelings with which a considerable portion of those who are confounded by their opponents under the common name of the "Evangelical Party," regard the history, the present state, and the future prospects of the Jews.

I do not mean to enter into nice explanations of these feelings. That they are apt to be mixed with notions which seem

to me carnal and sensual, I readily acknowledge. That the study of the history of the peculiar nation may blind men's eyes to the glory of the Universal Church, I can well believe. But nevertheless, it is true, not only that these feelings are in a number of earnest English minds the most deep and central which they have, those out of which all their other thoughts grow, and to which they are referred; but it is true also, that they are in their very nature incompatible with that individualizing tendency which is imputed, and justly imputed, to the Evangelical school generally. The idea of a body preserved from generation to generation, not from the worth of the individual members of it, but because it is a body in covenant with God; of a body preserved by institutions; of a body whose members are to be spoken of, if holy and true, as men who lay hold on the hope of Israel, if false and apostate, as men who voluntarily renounce it, and choose a separate position of their own—this idea, which is necessarily the primary one in the minds of those who study Jewish prophecy, and watch with earnest affection the present condition of the Jewish nation, is the direct antithesis of that which reduces the Church into its first elements, and bids every man first seek salvation for himself, *then* attach himself to some sect or society of persons who are engaged in the same search, or think they have found what they are seeking. Accordingly, long before any "Tracts for the Times" appeared in Oxford, persons who were strongly possessed by this Jewish spirit, had been protesting in language of no ordinary vehemence and power, against the prevailing temper of those with whom they were associated, saying that it would inevitably issue in the loss of the faith and spirituality which it seemed to make all in all, and was directly contrary to the letter and sense of the Bible, which it proclaimed to be the only religion of Protestants.

These things, Sir, may seem to you unimportant; but those, who are actually in the business and bustle of the world, are driven to take notice of distinctions, which school formulas pass over; and the distinction, to which I have now alluded, is one which has forced itself upon me continually. I find indeed much that I cannot sympathise with in these literal interpreters



of history and prophecy, and much that I can sympathise with in those who are called spiritualists; the two together seem to me to constitute the elements of a Church and Catholic feeling: and that principle, whatever it be, which brings them into reconciliation and fellowship, must be different from either, and must very much change the character which each has where it exists exclusively. But of this I am sure, that if our Catholicism takes no account of some of the most radical and earnest thoughts which the men about us have; if it merely comes with its rules and maxims to set them all aside, and not to adopt them into itself, it is a sham Catholicism, one that will stand no shock, and upon which God will confer no blessing.

In quite a different class of persons from those I have alluded to, in one section of those who are called High Churchmen, another feeling has been for some time past strongly manifesting itself; I mean that desire which I expressed in my last letter, for fellowship with the Greek Church. Men who think that we cannot abandon our position as witnesses against Rome, have asked earnestly, "Why we need be separate from men, who are themselves witnesses against her, why we cannot look upon them as brethren beloved?" Ideally it was impossible, I think, as I have said already, to find any objection to their demands; they seemed as reasonable as they are pious; but actually, the difficulties were innumerable. Our countrymen had gone forth; they had seen the corruptions which are practised in the Greek temples, the ignorance which prevails among Greek priests; they had been shocked that such a testimony should be borne to Christianity before Mahomedans; they had mistaken their own vocation and duty, and instead of strengthening that which remained in the Eastern Church, instead of awakening its members to what they have and what they are, they laboured most mischievously to persuade them that they had nothing and are nothing, and that they must abandon their Church, instead of cleaving to it with a stronger and deeper love, and so, by their prayers and tears, helping to make it what it should be. Yet it seemed quite impossible to remove this difficulty. We could not compel our countrymen to practise rites which they looked



upon as idolatrous and sinful, for the sake of an ultimate object, however good. We could not call upon them to put such a sanction upon the principle of 'the end sanctifying the means.' We should have destroyed all that was sound or good in their minds, if we had. We could not compel poor men to offer up their prayers in a language they did not understand; the Greeks would not have thought us better Christians for doing so. And so it came to pass, that our countrymen, in the districts where the Greek Church is established, seemed to have no worship at all, to be united to each other by no bonds; at all events, merely to practise a religion, and entirely to abandon the idea of an universal Church. A strange and perplexing phenomenon certainly to Greeks, to Jews, and to Mahomedans—that members of a nation, which has the glorious characteristic of being the truth-speaking nation throughout the East, should seem to acknowledge no God of truth, and to seek no grace from Him.

Once more. For a long time it has been a conviction in the minds of many cultivated Churchmen, that the character of Mahomedanism has never been sufficiently investigated, and its relation to the Old as well as to the New Dispensation, considered. Very few, perhaps, may have adopted the opinions which are contained in Mr. Forster's book; but in numbers there is a growing conviction, that there are some great elements of truth in that system, which require to be brought out and acknowledged; some great purpose in God's chastisement of that portion of His Church, into which we ought humbly to enter. On the one hand, it seems quite clear, that the sin of Mahomedanism is, not the assertion of a false principle but the denial of a true one; and that if a practical faith in the Incarnation had prevailed in the countries over which the armies of the Prophet swept, they never could have been subdued by those armies; they never could have felt that a mere man was meant to be the King of the Universe. On the other hand, it is quite evident that neither from Romanists, bowing down themselves confessedly and boastingly before a visible ruler, nor from the Greek Church as at present circumstanced, doing as much practical homage to the Czar of Muscovy as the Islamite pays to the Sultan, can the

testimony against this great denial proceed. Neither can it be borne by mere sects or congregations of Christians, having no apparent bond of connexion with any other portion of the world but their own.

Now, while all these thoughts were at work in different earnest English minds, and while the recent events in Syria were drawing them strongly in that direction, we were told, that the Prussian monarch had proposed to the Bishops of the English Church, that a Bishopric should be established at Jerusalem. The proposal answered in every respect to the conditions which I set down in my last letter. It came not from the ministers of any German body of Christians, but from one whom we acknowledged as the rightful Sovereign of his land, and with whom England was in the strictest amity. It was not a proposition to dispense with any one institution which we held precious, but expressly to do honour to that one which the German Protestants had hitherto slighted. It was not a call to us to recognize any congregations not governed by a Bishop, but expressly to receive congregations, which otherwise would have been non-Episcopal, under the authority of one. The heads of our Church did not go out of their way to seek that such an act might be done; they were asked to do it. If they did not choose to do it, they would have had to say, "We do, as the Bishops of God's Church, and acting in His presence, determine that we will not take this method of giving a Church organization to our own Christian congregations, and to the German congregations abroad; we will not take this method of gratifying that deep feeling which has been so long at work among a great body of Christians on behalf of the Jews, and of giving it an ecclesiastical direction; we will not take this method of establishing a bond of fellowship between us and the Greeks, in the only way in which it can be established, through the only ecclesiastical officer who can be recognized by the Greeks as competent to hold transactions with them, or who can teach them that we are Episcopalians in reality, and not merely in name. We will not take this method, this great Catholic method, of bringing our brothers of the German race into union with us as Protestants against any power, be it



Papal, be it Imperial, which interferes with Christ's Headship over His Church, and therefore which makes the Church feeble among Greeks, a contradiction among Romanists, a scandal to Mahomedans and Jews. And finally, we will not take this method of setting forth the true idea and law of Christendom, in direct opposition to the denial of Islamism, and so of accomplishing the work in spirit and in truth, which the Crusades sought to accomplish by visible arms."

And now, Sir, according to my promise, I proceed to consider your arguments. The first of them is founded on the following:—

*Extract from the Prussian State Gazette, dated Berlin, Nov. 16.*

[I print with your italics, and in the translation which you have adopted.]

"The result of the negotiations commenced by Prussia in order to obtain for the *Evangelical* Christians of the German nation the same advantages in the Turkish empire, especially in Palestine and Syria, as are enjoyed by the Christians of the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches, excites general interest. It is in fact so interesting an event in modern history, that it seems desirable to obviate involuntary misunderstandings by a simple narrative of the occasion and object of the negotiation.

"The concord of the great Powers of Europe, to which the Turkish empire is indebted for its independence and the world for peace, offered an opportunity essentially to improve the situation of the German Evangelical Christians in the East. To profit by this opportunity in a manner worthy of its political position was considered by Prussia as a sacred duty, especially because it might be foreseen with much probability, that the great impulse given to the commercial intercourse between nations would also increase the connexion of German *Protestants* in the East, and perhaps lead to the *foundation of settlements* by them in those countries.

"Seen in a general point of view, it might perhaps have appeared sufficient for the promotion of science, industry, and trade, and also for the facilitating settlement, if Prussia had only



aimed at procuring for all its subjects independence, without difference of religion, as far as they needed it, whether as travellers or as settlers; that legal protection for their persons and property the Hatti Scherif of Gulhané had promised; but in the pursuance of these objects, it appeared in what a much more advantageous position the King was, in respect to his Roman Catholic, than in respect to his Protestant subjects.

"These objects appeared to be closely connected with certain religious rights and privileges. The *Latin and Greek Churches* in the East are *distinct bodies, with common discipline and order*, founded on ancient treaties, and therefore enjoy in this capacity the benefit of being acknowledged, which includes the most important political rights. The *Greek Church* enjoys the protection of the Emperor of Russia; and the *Latin Church* that of the great Roman Catholic Powers. The Prussian government needs only to join in the endeavours of the latter, sufficiently to remove all obstacles that must still exist to the particular interests of its Roman Catholic subjects.

"The *Protestant Church*, on the other hand, was destitute, up to the latest times, of all legal recognition. What State of the Continent could more naturally desire that in the present state of the world they also might enjoy similar corporate privileges than Prussia, which has among its subjects more than half of *all the Members of the Protestant Church* in Germany? and ought not the *Protestant Church*, as a member of the *Catholic Church* of Christ, to possess the right of assembling its adherents on the scene of the origin of Christianity, and *freely to proclaim Evangelical truth* according to their *Confession* and *Liturgy*?

"Under these circumstances the Prussian government could not in duty be deterred by the difficulties of various kinds, which opposed the attainment of an object so intimately connected with the religious feelings of the nation. The question was, with a just appreciation of all the circumstances, to look for the way which might most certainly lead to the proposed end: partial negotiations with the Porte, notwithstanding the very amicable relations between the two governments, offered no prospect of real success. The Turkish government does not yet feel the imme-

diate connection of Prussia with the East; the Porte knows Prussia only as a great European Power, by whose agreement with other great Powers its safety is guaranteed.

“The relations of Great Britain with the Porte are very different. England, by its naval power and its commerce, possesses great influence in the East. A union with England, whose Church, in its *origin and doctrines*, is *closely allied* to the German *Evangelical Church*, appeared, therefore, to be the surest means of obtaining the important object.

“The negotiations to be opened for this purpose depended, however, on the previous question, whether Great Britain was inclined to *do justice to the independence and national honour of the German Evangelical Church*, and to treat this affair in *perfect union with Prussia on the fixed principle* that Protestant Christendom, under the protection of England and Prussia, should appear to the Turkish government as *one power*, and thus obtain from it all the advantages of being legally recognised.

“The steps which were taken to settle this previous question had the most satisfactory results. *Not only* did the British government show itself ready with decided good-will to enter into the subject *on the basis proposed*, but the heads of the English Church entered with warm interest into the proposal. *All parties agreed in the conviction*, that the diversities of Christian worship, according to languages and nations, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation—that is to say, in the Protestant Church—are upheld by a superior unity, the Head of the Church Himself; and that in this unity, to which all the diversities refer, as to their centre, is the foundation of true Christian toleration. Besides this conviction, His Majesty the King too warmly participates in the religious sympathies of the nation, which are so intimately interwoven with the origin of the Augsburg Confession, and the recollection of the champions of the faith of the German Protestant Church, to have consented to any thing contrary to this firm common basis of the entire German Protestant Church.

“By a cordial co-operation directed in this spirit, a distinct Bishopric has been founded in Jerusalem, in which all Protestant



*Christians may find a common support and point of union in respect of the Turkish government, and in all cases when their representation as one Church may be necessary; whilst at the same time the German Protestants preserve the independence of their Church. With respect to their particular confession and liturgy, His Majesty the King provides one-half of the expense of the Bishopric, and he participates therefore with the Crown of England in the right of nominating the Bishop.*

“Thus the religious wants of the new Bishopric would be provided for; but as a religious community cannot be blessed with prosperity, except in union with the instruction of youth and the care of the sick, a still greater support is to be expected for this purpose from the pious interest and charity of the *Protestant Christians in Prussia and other German countries*,

“The foundation of an hospital is especially important, in which travellers, who will be more numerous attracted to Jerusalem by scientific inquiries, religious interest, or other objects, may be received, in case they should need assistance.

“In reference to the above, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs has addressed two circulars to the Provincial governments, and to the Consistories, recapitulating the preceding statements, and informing them that it is His Majesty's pleasure that a general collection should be made in *all the Protestant Churches* of the Prussian monarchy; the sum to be collected to be sent to the Minister, M. Eichorn.

“The Consistories are especially desired to take into consideration the important object to which the collection is to be applied, and as His Majesty the King has this object so much at heart, they are enjoined to impress it on the minds of their *Protestant brethren*.”—*Prussian State Gazette*, Nov. 17.

II. The following is the circular which M. Eichorn, Minister of Religious Worship, addressed for this purpose to each of the Regencies of the kingdom.

“His Majesty the King has taken advantage of his participation in the preservation of peace in the East, to procure for



the future a protection for the *Evangelical Church* in Turkey, similar to that enjoyed by the *Greek and Latin Churches* in that country. As this affair is connected with the most important political rights, to the privation of which *Evangelical Christians* were heretofore exposed by the violent and arbitrary conduct of the local authorities, the advantage which His Majesty has endeavoured to obtain for them by his influence is so much the greater, as, setting aside scientific interests and the advancement of religion, which inspire a superior ardour, the progress of commerce will hereafter attract a greater number amongst them to create important establishments. In consequence of these considerations, the King has not hesitated, in concert with Great Britain, to make considerable sacrifices out of his private fortune, in order to secure for ever for the *German Evangelical Church, which is the mother of all the Evangelical Confessions which exist*, a position in the country where *Christianity was produced*, in harmony with her dignity and grandeur, beside the *Latin and Greek Churches*.

"A church will be speedily built at Jerusalem, for the German Protestants. It will be opened for their worship according to their *Confession* and their *Liturgy*. But to secure this object, an hospital must be constructed for *Evangelical travellers* of small fortune, that scientific or religious pursuits may attract to Jerusalem. It will be necessary, likewise, to *found a school*. It is not necessary to explain the intimate relation which exists between these institutions and the influence of religion. His Majesty has, in consequence, commanded that, for the completion of this object, a general collection shall be made in the *Evangelical Churches* throughout the Prussian Monarchy. The Regency is invited to take the necessary measures to effect this collection. They will send me the sums collected. The Royal Consistory shall receive a private circular, announcing the Sunday fixed for this collection, and will appoint the Clergymen who are to preside at it.

"The Minister of Public Worship,

"EICHORN."

"The view taken of this transaction in Prussia may be further illustrated," you say, "by the following extract from an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which appeared in the *Conservative Journal*, of November 20."

"Through the activity of the *Evangelical* Missionaries, a number of Jews at Jerusalem had been converted to Christianity, including many distinguished men of learning, and thus had a small *Evangelical congregation* been formed at Jerusalem. Neither the *Catholic* nor the Greek Church can complain of having been despoiled, for these converts from Judaism belonged to neither. If, however, they fear to be *outstripped* by a greater extension of the *Evangelical Church* in Palestine, let them exert that mental and spiritual energy which God has given them, to awaken a conviction that the Christian doctrine and a Christian life are manifested by them in a greater degree of purity. From this noble contest they are in no way excluded; and in the place of those revolting dissensions and that selfish jealousy, which characterized the conduct of European nations in the Holy Land at the time of the crusades, may we now behold the noblest emulation of which the world has ever had a knowledge. The establishment at Jerusalem of an *Evangelical congregation*, with Ecclesiastical endowments, and by the protection of England and Prussia, under the guardianship of the Porte, shielded against the oppressions to which *Evangelical Christians* have hitherto been exposed in the East, is a *germ of Christianity* from which great future results may be anticipated; but as at all times a true spirit of Christian activity without has served to quicken the fruits of faith within, so has this foundation in Jerusalem called into life one of the most momentous appearances ever witnessed by Europe. As two parents in their love towards their child enter into a more exalted union, even so the *Evangelical Churches of Prussia and England*, HITHERTO DIVIDED, have, in this daughter Church of Jerusalem, tendered to each other the hand of true union. It is not contemplated indeed that the English Church should abandon her institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England; but the two Churches,



by their recent act, have mutually recognized that, in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are non-essential, the union in spirit the essential;—their conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a daughter Church, in which the nomination of the Ecclesiastics shall be vested alternately in Prussia and England; in which the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-nine Articles are recognized as founded in an intimate community of faith; in which the rites of the English and Prussian Churches are to be accepted as the simultaneous expression of one and the same Evangelical Christianity. The conquest of Constantine, the fortifying of Paris, the expulsion of a Queen from Spain, and a hundred other events that our time has witnessed, may wear a more pompous look, and may, at the first glance, appear of greater importance than this small commencement of a united Evangelical congregation at Jerusalem; but whoever is really acquainted with the affairs of the Levant, will recognise in this unostentatious commencement, the germ of a great development. The grain of mustard seed will be seen to grow up and to shoot forth its branches: nor can the present age show any thing more truly great than this intimate recognition and approach to each other of two brothers, the English nation and the most important race of Northern Germany—nothing nobler than this association of two brothers in the most exalted aim of man. England and Prussia have here found a point of union on which the blessing of God may rest\*.”

Now the first remark that I would make upon these documents is a very obvious one, and yet one which I think you have rather overlooked. It is that they are intended to explain the circumstance of the King of Prussia having applied to the heads of the English Church to consecrate a bishop. Whatever the words may say, this is the act to which the words refer. Secondly, I would wish to draw your attention to a phrase which occurs very frequently in these papers. I mean the phrase ‘the

\* It may be as well to mention that the article in the Allgemeine Zeitung does not pretend to be official in any sense. That in the Gazette is, no doubt, semi-official; the language being that of the Editor, the sentiments generally those of the Government.



Protestant,' or more strictly 'the Evangelical' Church. Now if you ask me whether I know what this phrase means, that is to say, whether I recognize two Churches in the world, one a Catholic, one an Evangelical, I should of course answer, No. Such a notion, I believe, is at variance with the Creed; it is entirely at variance with everything which I have said respecting the constitution of the Church in these letters. The strongest desire I am conscious of, is that of bringing all men to the feeling that there can be but one Church,—though that Church may exist in a number of different nations—though it may be quite right that in some subordinate particulars it should be modified by the character of those nations—though it is, I believe, actually demanded by its constitution, that it should recognize and sustain the distinct government of each of those nations. A Church united merely in a profession of a certain doctrine, though it be the true Evangelic doctrine, is one of which I cannot without difficulty frame to myself the notion; for the Evangelic doctrine seems to me to speak of a *Kingdom* which is one, and universal. But if you ask me whether I am angry when I see this word Evangelical Church appearing in a German document, whether I wish to convince Germans that they have not the elements of Church life among them, I must, in conformity with the principles which I have laid down, say—certainly not. The eager use of this phrase, so far from being an evidence of a lower state of feeling than that which prevailed among them formerly, is, I believe, one of the most striking indications of the ecclesiastical tendency which is characteristic of this age. The Prussians cannot be content to look upon themselves merely as sects; they must at all hazards, and at the price of almost any inconsistencies, try to reckon themselves—Lutherans, Calvinists, and all—members of a common body. Now that this has been found impracticable—that in order to carry out such a scheme, even in the most imperfect way, the State has been obliged to come in, and to exercise its functions in a manner wholly incompatible with spiritual freedom—of this fact I am quite as well aware as you can be; and Germans are, I apprehend, much better aware of it than either of us. Therefore they will advance or retreat.

In England we can tolerate gross inconsistencies, provided they do not seem to bear on our practical life. With the Germans, a nation of thinkers, this is impossible. They must relinquish the idea of a Church altogether, or they must work on till it is realized in a consistent form. The question is, whether we shall assist the first effort or the second—whether we shall determine to make them mere sects, or rather (for the existence of sects is becoming more impracticable every day) urge them into Pantheism; or whether we shall do what in us lies, that the feeling which is latent in their inconsistent language may be brought forth, and find its fitting expression.

Now it seems to me, that the act of a German king coming forth to desire the foundation of a Bishopric, is the most hopeful symptom which can well be conceived of this progress. It is the king who would naturally be most jealous of every hint that Episcopacy is desirable, for were Episcopacy once established in his own land, the kind of power which he has exercised in spiritual matters must cease. I believe his position would be much safer, much more honourable than it is now; but his dominion would be checked and circumscribed by an organized spiritual power. At the same time I cannot help thinking, that if the king moved in this matter without his people, if they did not feel that the step which he had taken was one consistent with their national feelings as Germans, and with the best and truest religious feelings which are at work amongst them, the attempt would be artificial. Episcopacy would be a plant forced into the soil by a royal hand, not a gift sought for from God, to satisfy wants of which the people had themselves become conscious. Looking at the subject in this light, I do in the first place most heartily rejoice that the experiment should have been made as it has been made in a way not to alarm the prejudices of the Prussian people; in a way which appeals to their imaginations and their Christian sympathies; in a way which may be justified by the strongest political reasons, and by their Protestant professions. And, secondly, I rejoice that this measure should have been set before them in language perfectly natural, perfectly expressive of German feelings, though it be to us in a great measure unintelligible.



The only point to be considered, as I said in my last letter, is, whether our Church is in anywise compromised by the use of this language; whether we are committed to the approbation of anything which as English Churchmen we ought not to sanction. Now after attentively considering these documents, I am thoroughly convinced that we are not. I do not say that we are not committed, Sir, to some things which *you* would disapprove, because it is evidently your opinion, that we of the English Church have a right to call upon the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany to pronounce Luther and Calvin, and all their forefathers, heretics and schismatics, and evil men; that we have a right to call upon them to declare that they were not Christians, till we admitted them into our fellowship; that we have a right to impose upon them penances of our devising, for their own sins, and those of their ancestors. Unquestionably, I think the Church of England has by the act of entering into intercourse with the king of Prussia respecting this Bishopric, renounced its claim to do any of these things. But there are some persons who think with me, that had she assumed this position, had she dared to make any of these demands, she would have committed a crime in the sight of God and men; that she would have required the Germans to commit a crime which would for ever have cut them off from any connection with the past, and from any blessings in the future; and that if the guilt of the Jews in their contempt of other people was avenged sevenfold, our heavier guilt would have been avenged seventyfold.

I think the English Church has gone one step further than this. I think it is evident from the passage in the document which you have printed in italics, beginning, "All parties are agreed in the conviction, that the diversities of Christian worship," &c., that the English Bishops did acknowledge a common meeting point with Protestants, as Protestants, in the confession of Christ, as the Head and Centre of the Church. This is the obvious meaning of that paragraph. Of course, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, did not talk about historical developments and so forth. Such words do not belong to our vernacular tongue. They are, as every one must perceive,



thoroughly German. Neither did they talk of the centre of unity being for the Evangelical Church; that phrase has as little meaning for us as the other\*. But they did maintain the doctrine, which a German expresses thus to himself, that the centre of the Church is Christ Himself, and not any visible ruler. And they reduced this principle into an act, by appointing a Bishop; thus declaring more strongly than any language could declare it, their belief that Christ's Church does not stand on opinions or doctrines, but that it is a constitution to which all men are intended to belong, and to which all men may belong who do not voluntarily reject it.

And thus much, Sir, for your first section.

2. The object of your next Section is to prove, "That the position asserted in the Prussian Gazette to have been made the basis of a convention by the Heads of the English Church acting in her name, was urged upon the Church a century and a half ago, by the whole force of the government of William III., and was even then rejected in the most marked way by the Convocation of the Clergy"

Of course, if what I have said under the last head be true, the point to consider is not, what kind of language is used in the Prussian State Gazette, but what has actually been done by the Bishops of England, and what the acts which they have done signify. I am willing, however, to let you state the case for yourself. It is affirmed, then, in the Prussian State Gazette, that English Bishops agreed with the Prussian Monarch in affirming that Christ is the only centre of unity to His Church, and that upon this ground they have established a Bishop at Jerusalem, who was consecrated by the Bishops of Christ's Church in England. This is what is affirmed in the Prussian State documents to be the *basis of the convention* between the parties in this transaction.

Now the evidence you have produced, and the comments you have made upon it, are intended to prove this point, that the

\* It is not, however, fairly given in the translation. *Namentlich*, I believe, does not mean "that is to say," but *especially*. It has been confounded with *nämlich*.

government of William III. having established Presbyterianism in Scotland, endeavoured to treat all Presbyterian bodies on the same footing with Episcopalian bodies. The only point of difference between the cases is this, that by the one proceeding the English Church would have proclaimed Episcopacy of no value; by the other, she proclaims it of the greatest; by the one she must have reduced herself to the level of those with whom she was negotiating; by the other, she does what in her lies to raise them to her level. I grant you, Sir, that the comparison of these two proceedings is a most useful 'Aid to Reflection.'

3. The doctrine of your Third Section is, "That the same position was similarly rejected not many years afterwards in a correspondence with the Eastern Catholic Church, which anathematizes both the principle of Protestantism and its two leading sects by name."

This assertion is maintained by some documents of considerable interest and importance. The most valuable of these relate to the opinions of the Eastern Church, as expressed in the acts of the Synod of Bethlehem in the year 1672. These acts affirm that "of the Catholic Church, since all men without exception must die, and cannot remain any of them for ever as heads, our Lord Jesus Christ Himself is Head, and Himself holds the ropes in the steerage of the Church, and steers through the Ministry of the Holy Fathers." That "the Holy Ghost hath set in all the particular Churches, that is, in all that are really and properly churches, and consist of members which are really and properly such, as leaders and shepherds, and, in a word, not by any figure of speech, but truly and properly as rulers and heads—the Bishops; they looking, that is, to the author and finisher of our salvation, and referring to Him the virtue of their ministrations, in respect of their being heads." That, "together with their other wicked errors, this also is held by the Calvinists—that forsooth a simple Priest and a Bishop are the same thing, and that it is possible to do without a Bishop, and have the Church governed by a number of Priests, and that not a Bishop only, but a Priest also, can ordain another Priest, and that a number of Priests together can ordain a Bishop." That "it ever



hath been the doctrine of the Eastern Church, that the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church, that without a Christian Bishop there cannot exist any Church, nor any Christian man, no, not so much as in name."

I will not ask how the Bishops of the Eastern Church arrived at this last conclusion, one which is refuted by plain fact, seeing that Christian men do exist at all events in name without an Episcopacy. I will not ask this question, Sir, for nothing seems to me so hateful as to make our brethren offenders for a word; and I do think that, allowing for this extravagance, the general tone of these passages is earnest, and beautiful, and strikingly expressive of the feelings which the Eastern Church has preserved through its history, and which it is our business to strengthen and not to impair. Therefore, I conceive that the greatest obligation is laid on us, at once to enter into correspondence with them, through the only ecclesiastical officer whom they can receive; to show them by facts, and not merely by words, that we are a Church constituted in the way in which they believe a Church ought to be constituted.

And this necessity becomes the more imperative, from the facts which are set forth in the other parts of this section. For you show most clearly, that the non-juring Bishops, though they took the greatest pains to enter into communion with the Eastern Church, though they were willing to anathematize Lutherans and Calvinists, yet were utterly unable to convince the Eastern Bishops that they were indeed parts of the Catholic Church; that they were not merely members of a Protestant sect. That experiment having been tried, and tried in vain, it would seem as if but one other remained. We must convince the Greeks that we have Bishops, by showing that we cannot permit our congregations in the East to exist without one; and if we can besides show them, that those very persons whom they denounce, mainly because they rejected the ordinance of Episcopacy (for all the other evils they evidently trace to this source), are themselves willing to meet them upon their own terms,—the evidence will be still more striking, their faith will be confirmed, and their charity enlarged.



4. Your next proposition is, "That the Convocation, the non-juring Bishops, and the Eastern Catholic Church had good reason for disclaiming all community of principle with what was called Protestant religion in general, and with the sects of Lutherans and Calvinists in particular." The good reasons are, First, that Protestantism is in its very nature an assertion of the principle of heresy. Secondly, that this being its principle, it has developed itself in different forms; that one of these is the latitudinarian form, one the pietistic or evangelical form, one the rationalizing. Thirdly, that there have been corresponding developments to these in the English Church, which have brought different portions of it into close proximity with dissent. The general inference is, that Protestantism having this downward tendency, and this dangerous affinity with what is most evil among ourselves, the farther we stand aloof from it the better it is for us; the more we come into contact with it, the more we shall suffer.

You have here touched upon subjects of the deepest interest. What kind of evidence have you brought to bear upon them? A selection of passages from your own diary, containing fragments of conversations with two, or at most three pastors in Geneva; with Mr. —, the public librarian at —; with the Moderator at —; with Professor —, who was introduced to you at Oxford; with a distinguished German, with whom you had also a conversation at Oxford, of which conversation you have given this account,—“he argued stoutly with me against the doctrine that the delivery of the traditive faith of the Church in baptism to the baptized person to hold, is the root of all subsequent orthodoxy to the individual.”

I say nothing, Sir, about the justice or the propriety of repeating these dialogues; I say nothing of the feelings which I, as a member of your University and a Minister of your Church, experienced when I found that this was the way in which it was proved to foreigners, that we had a sounder faith, a more practical Christianity, and a more refined education than theirs. I say nothing of the wisdom or the piety of attempting to retail discourses respecting the solemnest questions of theology in much

the same style, and probably with about the same accuracy, which Prince Pückler Muskau and Mr. Willis employ in retailing the tittle-tattle of dinner-tables or drawing-rooms. But I must protest against the notion—not that I think any reasonable person on your side is likely to entertain it—that the least light upon the ecclesiastical history of modern Europe, is to be struck out by such methods as these. I protest still more strongly against the notion, that the statements which you say that you put forward to confound and crush the foreign heretics, are to be taken as specimens of the instruction which Oxford or the English church gives to her sons. In the midst of many deficiencies which there may be in our Aristotelian discipline, I have always regarded this as one of its blessings, that it seeks to impart us a certain habit of mind—to make the truths which we learn a part of our life. Now surely the tone in which you say you went forth proclaiming to the Pastors in Geneva and to the Professors of some places possibly in Germany, more probably in France or Switzerland,—I am a Deacon of the English Church, come forth to tell you what the Church believes, and what we in Oxford believe, and how necessary humility is in order to arrive at truth\*,—is as much at variance with the spirit of these teachings, as anything I ever heard of. Nor can I conceive anything much less adapted to the circumstances of those with whom you spoke. Whatever you may fancy, the dogmatic temper is one which has been especially characteristic of Protestants. Instead of throwing aside all dogmas, the great fault of the age immediately succeeding that of the first Reformers, was, that it made dogmas all in all. Luther *himself* loved the creeds of the old Church, because they were real and personal. If you had looked into his writings, you would know, that the substitution of the Creed for the scholastic teachings of his time, and not the setting up of his own judgment or opinions, was the great object of his life. In defending himself against the Romanists, he was unfortunately driven to become scholastic. His followers, and the Calvinists, became still more determinately so in defending their

\* "M. — agreed with me on the necessity of humility in order to arrive at truth."—PALMER'S *Aids to Reflection*, p. 48.



opinions against each other. A hard doctrinalism took the place of every thing living and practical. Then came one of the Pietistic re-actions, asserting the importance of real faith in Christ and union with him, against the systematic tendency of the current theology; then the latitudinarian re-action against both, affirming dogmatical theology to be the imposition of priests, spiritual life to be the dream of mystics, mundane morality to be all in all. Such was the prevalent faith in the eighteenth century. Another and a more powerful re-action, beginning with us and penetrating into Germany, to a great degree undermined this heartless temper. But the Evangelical system, which was the fruit of this re-action, being merely connected with feelings of personal religion, could explain none of the deeper problems respecting the nature and relations of men, with which the German mind was occupied. Hence it was unable to make head against that new form of Rationalism (so often in England confounded with the old Rationalism of the last century), which was the fruit of that critical philosophy whereby the sensual and materialist philosophy of Locke and Condillac was superseded. This Rationalism has taken many forms; some of them abutting closely on Infidelity, some actually touching upon Catholicism; but every one, as well as the Pietistic feeling, and what you call the State Establishment feeling, indicating the need of something fixed and real to meet it.

Now, Sir, if you had shown that you had derived from your Oxford teaching principles so deep, and fixed, and real, that you were able to sympathize with these forms and movements of human thought; if you had had the simplicity and courage, like the old confessor of the Church, to repeat the Apostle's Creed, and say, 'here is that thing which you are seeking after; here are those realities which the reason of man and the heart of man are requiring,'—I am certain that what you said would have called forth an echo in the mind of many a Pietist and many a Rationalist. The former might have felt, 'this is what my individual life is craving for;' the latter, 'this is what the race of man is craving for.' But when you talked of dogmas, when you said that dogmas were what our Church cared for, and what



Oxford cared for, you necessarily repelled all the truest and honestest men you came in contact with. They knew what a curse the spirit of dogmatism had been in the Protestant bodies; they knew what a source of division and strife it had been. They wanted something else; they wanted to be told of a real bond, which should hold them together, and you could not tell them of any such thing; you could only set up your phrases against theirs, and make them feel that while you denounced every form of private judgment, you were really bowing down to your own judgment and worshipping it, far more than they worshipped theirs.

My answer, then, to the argument which you draw from the continual growth of divisions and heresies among Protestants is this—There is that tendency which you speak of; it is manifesting itself still; and yet it is equally true, that God has not ceased to govern the world, nor to direct the mutations of human opinion towards the consolidation and establishment of His Church. But for these Pietistic and Rationalizing movements, the religion of Germany would have been either one of mere dogmatism, or it would have ceased altogether. By means of them the desire of truths, which at once belong to man's spirit and transcend it, the continual hope of an organization which shall not be a mere formal state organization, but a spiritual, Catholic organization, has been kept alive. A thousand circumstances connected with German politics, religion, and philosophy, are tending to bring that wish and longing hope to a head. In this case, as in all others, there must be some one to interpret the feeling; some one to utter it, in order that it may be conscious of itself; some one to embody it in a visible act. Your way of showing your dislike to the evils which Protestantism run to seed has produced, is to meet the first act which announces such a feeling, and to anathematize it,—thus doing, Sir, what in you lies to make all the divisions, all the heresies which there are in Europe, hopeless and perpetual. A worthy object, certainly, for an enemy of Protestantism and negations to aim at!

But you have discovered certain movements in the English

Church and nation, which are analogous to them which you say have taken place in Germany. The honourable Mr. S., who was once a member of the English Church, and is now a Romanist, has told you something about his former opinions. A distinguished Russian lady, who was a member of the Greek Church, and has joined the English Church, supposing it to be a Protestant sect, has communicated to you something respecting her present opinions. You obtained a little further light from another foreigner, whom you met in Oxford, and Mr. —, of Geneva, and the Rev. Mr. —, of Paris, made known to you the whole secret. I have not had the advantage of conversing with any of these persons; if I had, I should not think it necessary to mention the circumstance, unless I were writing a fashionable novel, and wished to announce in the newspapers how many proper names and piquant anecdotes might be found in it. For I really conceive, that by help of our popular literature, of the bills upon our walls, and of the denunciations in the Oxford tracts, we may safely adopt the conclusion, that a party called Evangelical, and having some sympathy with the Pietists of the Continent, exists in our land; nor do I find that your private sources of information have done more than put you in possession of this important fact. Certainly, they have not enabled you to offer a single hint as to the way in which this party ought to be treated; in which its errors, whatever they are, may be corrected, and its truths, if it have any, may be brought out into greater clearness and power. All I can gather from these passages of your book is, that you regard them either as a besieged body, who may possibly be starved into surrender, if they have no hope of supplies from without; or else as men with great capacities for disease, but who may be saved from falling into it, if a sufficiently strict *cordon sanitaire* can be drawn between them and the infected regions of Germany and Switzerland. Now, as neither of these opinions seems to me reasonable, and as the question is one of considerable importance, especially in reference to the topic upon which we are now engaged, I may be permitted perhaps to give what strikes me as a truer view of it.

I quite agree with you, Sir, that the footing upon which our



intercourse with Germany at present stands, is not a desirable one; and that, perhaps, no class suffers more from it, than the one to which you have alluded. Men of pious, affectionate, often cultivated minds, come over to England, who have felt the want of what they call a religious atmosphere in their own country. They are struck with the free play which is given to the moral and spiritual feelings of our countrymen. They are delighted with our religious associations, meetings, speeches. They praise them with a warmth which is evidently not counterfeited, and which to men in their circumstances is most natural. Now that persons who had begun to suspect that there is something hollow in the ways by which our religious sympathies display themselves, who had begun to sigh for something more pure and spiritual, should find themselves complimented, not in the trite vulgar language to which they are used, but in free, intelligent, genuine accents, upon the very qualities in which we are sadly deficient;—this cannot be good. It tends to keep down the tone of feeling among us, when it might perhaps be raised; to make us think that all is right, when a secret monitor whispers that much is very wrong.

Neither do I think that such men, in returning to their own country, can really do it the good which they wish to do. They must impart to many a discontent that things are not, as, in Germany, they cannot be; a craving after some of the most superficial appearances of our English life; an indifference about the cultivation of what is good among themselves. To these influences may, perhaps, be attributed the growth of a class of writers in Germany, who merely imitate the tones of our popular Evangelical preachers, with more of unction, perhaps, than is generally found in them; and whose works are translated, and eagerly bought up in England, because it is always pleasant, though most dangerous, to dwell amidst the echoes of our own voices, and to convince ourselves, if we can, that no other sounds are worthy of being listened to.

Meantime the sons of our Evangelical teachers, and many who have been brought up in their school, are engaged in a very different work. They are studying the higher literature and the



philosophy of Germany. And here a whole world of thoughts is suddenly unfolded to them, of which they had only caught faint glimpses, or heard by distant report before. They cannot turn away from these thoughts, let them be warned to do so as often as they may; for thoughts which concern ourselves, our own being and the being of our race, cannot be put from us, as if they meant nothing, or as if we had nothing to do with them. The dark hints and intimations of mischief which reach them, only seem to indicate a dread of realities, an unwillingness that things should be seen just as they are. Doubtless when they begin to converse again with their own climates and countrymen, and feel how wide a gulf seems to separate them from our ordinary English thoughts and feelings, they do sometimes regret the knowledge which they have acquired, and almost wish they could forget it. But it is a vain wish if it could be seriously entertained, and it is mixed with so much sense of superior light, with so much disgust at the low, worldly, commercial spirit which governs here, with so many desires, however vague, for our reformation, that it is soon changed into bitterness and alienation. It is very easy, Sir, to denounce such persons and their tempers of mind—very easy indeed; but it is not so easy to persuade ourselves that we have a right to do so; that their tempers, so far as they are evil, are not ours also, and that they are not, in many respects, more earnest and more ready to bear reproach than we are. At all events, it is of some importance to consider, whether some of the best stuff which we have in England, some that we shall most need when its trial day comes, is to be thrown aside as worthless, because we do not like to be disturbed in our opinions, or because we are not able to deal with theirs. For here lies the secret. The thoughts are awakened; it is not the devil who has awakened them, though he may seek to take the management of them. We ought to be able to meet them, and we are not able. We are too busy in abusing one another, and anathematising one another, in writing gossip in the newspapers, in calling this man a Low Churchman, and that man a Puseyite, in tearing one another to pieces about Poetry Professorships, and such fiddle-faddle, to have any leisure for deep thought and earnest

meditations. And till we find such leisure, men will seek elsewhere for what we cannot give.

It is not, then, this Jerusalem Bishopric which will bring us into contact, either with that which is most feeble in the Pietistic, or that which is most dangerous in the rationalising side of German life. That contact exists already; the commerce is established; the sea has failed to be an effectual *cordon sanitaire*: all our devices will assuredly fail also: the question is, how the intercourse may be turned to profit and not to evil. My own conviction is, that if anything will put an end to what is most vicious in the tone of our modern fashionable chapel and bazaar Christianity, and at the same time will call out that which is strong and healthful in the feelings of those who have given their sanction to it, a more extended, and less suspicious communion with German thoughts and feelings is likely to produce that effect. The kind of communion between the corresponding circles in the different nations, which is what we have at present, may, as I have shown, lead to exactly the opposite consequences. But the moment our divines begin to know what their brethren abroad have been really thinking and working at for the last eighty or a hundred years, they must begin to perceive that a merely sentimental religion of comforts and experiences, a merely social religion of coteries and circles, a merely outward religion of excitements cannot avail in this our day. They must 'lengthen their cords, and strengthen their stakes.' They must dare to encounter those awful thoughts respecting God Himself which occupied the Church in the first ages; they must dare to ask themselves how He has constituted us, in ourselves, and in relation to our fellow-men. This, Sir, I believe, is the way by which we shall be led to understand the preciousness of ancient patristic divinity; this is the way by which we shall be trained to know practically what the Church Catholic is; this is the way by which we shall be taught to approach holy mysteries with real and not fictitious awe. Other means have been tried. All the faults of the Evangelical School have been paraded forth in sermons and tracts, in tales and in newspapers; it has been censured gravely; it has



been turned into ridicule; and a rival school has risen up beside it to draw off many of its members. I do not say, that all these methods have not been intended by God's providence to do it good, or at least to do this nation good. I believe they have produced good, though I fear that the strife and bitterness which they have occasioned have been commensurate with it. But whatever the good has been, I cannot see that it is likely to last. On the contrary, I seem to myself to observe many indications of a determination on the part of some good men to shut themselves up in a system which they had half acknowledged to be insufficient, because they see no alternative but that of adopting another system which they consider far worse. And I tremble still more lest many half-sincere people should persuade themselves and others, that our modern religious tone is one which it is desirable to preserve, and with which we ought to be contented, precisely because it has been so severely condemned by those who have attacked much, which I agree with them in believing that we ought not to part with. So far then am I from expecting that this English opposition, though it may have awakened some to the study of truths which they had previously disregarded, will ultimately cure the evils of our Evangelical system, that I fear it may be accidentally the means of aggravating them. Whereas if the honest and excellent men of this party can be brought into communication with men of another country, who will sympathise with them in their strongest and deepest feelings, who will at the same time show them that they want something more than these feelings, who by their errors as well as their truth, by the weakness which needs Church discipline to guide it, as well as by the earnest and strong desires which need Church ordinances and Church union to satisfy them, will teach them that mere individual religion is not all that is needful for man, who, by the deeper inquiries in which they have been engaged—inquiries which must either terminate in universal denial, or in the acknowledgment of a real, personal, manifested Being—will show them that God, and not self, must be the centre of our theology, I cannot but believe that a blessing will come to them and to us all, which will be



precious beyond calculation. So far from the result being that this school will assume a more uncharitable tone towards those who are maintaining what are called High Church doctrines, I am convinced that they will then first begin to understand what these doctrines mean, what is the real ground of them, how they may hold them without sacrificing any one positive principle which they have derived from the teaching of the Reformers. So far will they be from sympathising more with the hangers-on of their party who would teach them to scoff at the early ages, that they will then first see how indispensable the teaching of those ages is. So far will they be from acquiring a greater horror of Frenchmen, or Spaniards, or Italians, as such, from this intercourse with our own true Teutonic brethren, that they will then first be able to receive the good which each of these nations may impart to us, without peril either to their English or their Christian feelings. These thoughts, Sir, I have been beginning to entertain for a long time. They have been forced upon me by the observations and reflections which I have made on the present position of parties in England, and they have displaced some prejudices, though I believe not one conviction, which I had cherished previously. But I own I was not the least prepared for that opening of communication with Germans which this measure of the Jerusalem Bishopric has afforded. I did not expect that Providence would so soon make known to us a way by which we might impart to them, not one of those temporary institutions which are the growth of a night and which perish in a night; not any of those accidents of our present state of religious feeling which we rather hope that God will reform among ourselves than make us the means of transmitting to others; not even any one of those institutions, however precious, which belong to us as members of a nation, and which might not be fitting for those of another; but an institution which has been among us for generations, and yet which belongs to us no further than it belongs to all mankind. I did not dream that in our present low state of religious feeling and theological knowledge, we should yet be permitted to endow others, in many respects wiser and better than ourselves, with blessings which

we have never rightly used. I did not think that in so wonderful a manner those who have undervalued institutions among ourselves would have been taught to prize them. I did not suppose that those who fancied the opinions of the Reformation to be all in all, would have seen men who hold these opinions coming to tell us that they need the ordinance of Episcopacy, in order that they may be able to prosecute a religious object. I had not imagined that by such a plan as this our own dignity as a great Catholic nation could have been upheld, even in the sight of those who have a right to say, that as individual men, as Christian divines, we are of very puny stature indeed. But seeing that God has vouchsafed this mercy to us so unexpectedly, I believe it must depend wholly on our willingness to use it, whether those other blessings which He may design for us, in raising us to a higher standard of spiritual character, shall really be ours or no.

5. The object of your fifth, sixth, and seventh sections I may state in a few words. In the first you undertake to prove by extracts from a debate in Parliament, by the Act of last session authorizing the consecration of foreign Bishops, by some passages from Dr. McCaul's sermon at the consecration of Bishop Alexander, and by the advertisement respecting the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric, that in spite of all the opposition which was made by the Convocation and non-jurors so many years ago, and in spite of the progress which Protestants have made towards deeper evil since, it is nevertheless probable that through the influence of the civil government and the two contrary religious establishments existing in our Island, we may be brought into closer communion with Protestants, and so separate ourselves further from other Christians. In the next, you show that there are nevertheless more favourable symptoms which may lead us to hope for better things; these hopes however being again dashed by other formidable evidences of a tendency towards Protestant communion. The good omens are two articles in the *Times* newspaper of Oct. 19 and Oct. 29, and two letters referring to them, together with the letters commendatory to the Eastern Bishops given by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of



London to the Rev. G. Tomlinson. The bad omens are a story which you have heard of the conversion of a Russian lady by an English clergyman, further passages from Dr. McCaul's sermon, an extract from a document in your possession, and the heads of a letter addressed by a friend of yours\* to the Chaplain of the Bishop of Jerusalem.

\* As there has been some misunderstanding about this letter I think it better to insert it entire :—

"A Clergyman of High Church principles, and said to have been selected on that very account to go out as chaplain with the new Bishop to Jerusalem, applied a short time before he sailed to a person with whom I am acquainted (a total stranger to himself) for any hints, advice, or information which he might be able to offer, to enable him to steer clear of any of those 'immense difficulties' which he saw before him.

"He received in answer a letter advising him, so far as I now can recollect its substance, to come to a distinct understanding if possible, before he sailed, with his Bishop (or, if the Bishop were undecided, with his consecrators) on the following points:

"1. Whether they were to profess consistently the *principle* of Catholicism or the *principle* of Protestantism in the name of the Church of England, or whether they were to try to mix the two together, and if so, by what rule?

"2. Whether they were as Protestants to admit Lutherans to communion at once, or as Catholics to require them to renounce the 'principle of Protestantism,' to profess the whole Faith handed down by the Apostolical Episcopate, promising to continue for the future steadfast in its 'doctrine and fellowship,' and not to frequent any more the worship of the Sects, and lastly, to be Confirmed, in order to receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost?

"3. The same of Calvinists and of every other Protestant Sect or Persuasion?

"4. Whether they were, as Catholics to regard the Greek Orthodox Church as truly Orthodox and Catholic, and to offer their Communion to its members, and seek the Communion themselves from its Bishops, or whether they were as Protestants to regard it as heretical, corrupt, and idolatrous, a congregation of nominal or professing Christians whom they were to convert by all means to Evangelical Protestantism, or whether, thirdly, they were to attempt to trim between these two opinions?

"5. Whether, if while they themselves profess to bear 'a message of friendship,' other 'Ministers' or members of the 'Protestant Evangelical Church' should convert members of the Greek Orthodox Church, as heretics and idolators, to Protestantism, they are to accept and allow of such conversions?

"6. Whether, if any members of the Greek Orthodox Church, to which they bear 'a message of friendship,' should step forward of themselves to abjure their own Church and profess 'Christianity unstained by idolatry,' such proselytes are to be rejected; and if not, whether there is any laudable charity in not seeking actively themselves to make proselytes?

"7. Whether the Nestorians and the Jacobites are to be viewed as heretics

The last section contains an encouraging announcement, grounded upon conversations of your own with the Ober-Procuror to the Emperor of Russia, with the Chamberlain Mouravieff, and with a certain Russian Prince, that the Government of Russia will be likely to forward a communion between the English and Eastern Churches, if we will consent to anathematise Protestants and Protestantism. This is the whole of your case. I will make a few remarks upon the last witnesses you have called, and then wind up mine.

The passages, which you extract from two debates in Parliament, show that the Bishop of London and Sir Robert Inglis are of opinion that Protestants exist in the East, and that it is the duty of Government to protect them, seeing they are not protected by the Russian Government, or by the French. The question is one of fact—are there such persons? and one of policy—if there are, ought they to be left to the mercies of a Mahomedan Government? You know that there are Protestants in Syria, you know that they are not in communion either with the Roman or the Greek Church. Statesmen cannot pretend to ignore the existence of human beings, even if they be under your anathema. Churchmen may say that they are not occupying a proper position; they have said so, and they have sent out a Bishop to give them what seems to us a proper position. They may be right or wrong. I have maintained in this letter that they are right; you may answer my arguments if you please, but the debates in Parliament do not affect the matter in the slightest degree. They do not touch the question of Church organization, but simply the question of bodily existence. They speak of certain persons, and describe them according to the names by which they are most likely to be known. With respect to the sermon preached at the consecration, its value as a key to the intentions of the Bishop, must of course be determined by the actions of the Bishops themselves. If it says the same

or as orthodox brethren; and whether they are to be admitted to Communion as they are, or only upon conversion, i.e., upon renouncing their heresy, and pledging themselves no longer to communicate with Churches still professing it?"



things which those acts say, why not appeal to the acts? If it says less or more, for that less or more the Bishops are not responsible; and how a sermon at Lambeth, preached by a gentleman who is known as perhaps the most accomplished Hebrew scholar and one of the most excellent and diligent clergymen, of his day, but who has, so far as I know, never received any favour from the Civil Government, and certainly has not the remotest connection with the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, can prove that their united influence is at work in the act for appointing and sending out a Bishop, I am not Œdipus enough to conjecture.

The act respecting the consecration of foreign Bishops, is certainly of some value as a point of evidence respecting the present relations of the Church with the Civil Government. It shows that the Bishops are anxious to use their influence in Parliament for the purpose of removing some of the impediments by which the State has hitherto crippled the government of the Church.

The advertisement respecting the Bishopric derives all its supposed mischief from these words—"A Bishop who is to reside in Jerusalem as a representative of the *Reformed Church*." The use of this phrase, *Reformed Church*, in a document possessing no formal or official character, but merely intended to state, in a loose and general way, the objects of the Bishopric, is supposed to involve the principle of uniting with unepiscopal congregations, and this, though the same document distinctly affirms, that the Bishop will only superintend the English Clergy, and such other Protestant bodies as may hereafter place themselves under his Episcopal authority, and be admitted into communion with his Church. I should be glad to know who are likely to attach an improper meaning to the words *Reformed Church*? Is it the persons to whom they are directly addressed? If they have ever heard such words before, it must be in the bidding prayer which is used at the Universities, and in many churches and chapels twice every Sunday before the sermon; wherein mention is made of 'Christ's Catholic Church, especially that Reformed part of it which is established in these realms.' Or

is it the Prussians? They would scarcely be able to affix any meaning to the phrase in this connection, because they apply it to Calvinistic bodies as contra-distinguished from the Lutheran, and these they would know could not be intended. Hence it is obvious, that neither party can derive from the use of this phrase any particular light about the nature of the Bishopric, and the conditions under which it will exist. If the whole scheme of the Bishopric be wrong, that phrase may import something wrong; but then the error must be made evident by other indications, not by treating an advertisement, as if it were a legal instrument.

With respect to the grounds of your hopeful and desponding thoughts of the future, I shall say but little. You may know better than I do whence the article in the *Times*, which you have quoted, proceeded, whose opinions it represents, whose opinions it was meant to influence: whose opinions it did actually influence. Unless I were cognizant of these points, I should not know how to draw an inference from it respecting the state of public feeling on this or on any other matter. I quite agree with you, that the letters of Anglo-Catholicus and Mr. Palmer of Worcester College, are most favourable symptoms of the tone of feeling which prevails among real High Churchmen; they are calm, dignified, and simple; and that especially which bears the weighty and honoured name of the author of the *Origines Liturgicæ*, removed in a very few words a number of difficulties which had been embarrassing the question in the minds of less instructed and considerate persons. I agree with you, also, in considering the letters which were delivered to the Secretary of the Christian Knowledge Society by our Bishops, as a favourable indication of the disposition which there is in the Rulers of the English Church to enter into fellowship with their brethren in Greece and Syria. How a testimony given so publicly and formally, can be balanced in your mind by a story which you have heard about the conversion of a Russian lady (the same, I presume, who did duty in the argument about the Evangelical re-action), by an English Clergyman at Geneva, I am at a loss to conceive. All that I should infer from such



a fact is, that it is a great pity for English Clergymen to go about the Continent reasoning with men and women, before they understand either what the position of these men and women is, or what their own is; and that it is very expedient for such Clergymen, both in the West and East, not to follow their vagrant fancies, but to be under the control of some Bishop. With respect to your last document, the letter addressed to the Chaplain of Bishop Alexander, I go all lengths with you in thinking it a very mournful sign indeed respecting the feelings of some Churchmen, and therefore respecting the state of the Church.

But I pass to a subject of far more importance. From what I said in my second letter, you will not suppose that I can have heard with any kind of surprise, upon what terms the Russian agents, who govern the Church in that country, would condescend to acknowledge the members of ours. I should wonder very much if the Imperial Government were to propose any scheme for 'knitting

The knots of love and peace,  
Throughout all Christian lands,

save that of our agreeing with it to denounce a set of persons whose existence is very inconvenient to its power and to its prospects; and I should wonder still more, if the measure, which we are now considering, did not, as you say it will, tend to make almost hopeless that scheme of reconciliation. If I wanted any other ground for defending it, this would be sufficient. Though a Deacon of the English Church is not exactly a Plenipotentiary to conclude such a treaty; yet the fact that it could be proposed, and that an English Clergyman could be found to listen to it, may well make one tremble. The necessity of finding some other way of uniting ourselves to the Eastern Church besides that of leaguering ourselves with its oppressor—the duty of taking some other method of helping the Protestants of Germany to raise themselves out of their present inorganic condition, besides that of anathematizing them—does indeed become imperative, when such sounds are heard, though only in a whisper. And let me add, too, though my voice may never reach those for whom it is intended, that such indications oug

not to be unheeded by the Protestants of Germany themselves, nor by the sovereigns who rule over them. In the first moment of just indignation they might be inclined to exclaim, 'What! shall we make ourselves like the subjects of a nation which affects to despise us, and to treat us as heathens;' but the next thought would be a truer one, a more Christian one, and I will add, a more German and national one. It would be this—The main reason why Russia is a despotism, is, that the Church within her has no breathing-room, no free development:—If this end were once attained by her organization becoming instinct with a living spirit, that mighty country, in spite of its great disadvantages from the extent of its soil, and the paucity of its people, might become free and happy, might attain by degrees a constitutional government. In Germany there is spiritual life, but it is concentrated in a few; in those few it is often turned to their own mischief, and to the mischief of the community; it is not a diffused popular life, for there is not a Church organization; and, therefore, in Germany too the State exercises a dangerous influence over the spiritual and moral energies of the Country, for there is no power to balance and sustain it. Such authority is perilous to the monarch who holds it, let him exercise it ever so wisely, because the sense in men's minds that the spiritual body ought not to be enslaved by the civil, will tempt them to unite themselves to some society which sets up the spiritual power *against* the civil. It is mischievous to those over whom he rules, let him exercise it ever so mildly, because where they have no free and safe expression for their spiritual feelings and life, they will be seeking unsafe expressions for them, or else be content to part with them altogether. Therefore, surely the interest of the monarch and of his subjects is the same. He must wish to part as soon as he can with the kind of power which was never intended for him; they must be anxious to receive, as soon as they can, such institutions as will connect them with the whole of Christendom, and so at once check and uphold those prerogatives which belong to the head of their own peculiar nation.

This is the true condition of a constitutional monarchy, herein



it differs from a military despotism. Now the King of Prussia in founding this Bishopric at Jerusalem, has, it seems to me, given the first pledge and earnest of such a blessing to his own land. The hope may be disappointed; if it be, then may Prussia well tremble at the papal influences in the midst of which she dwells, at the French propagandism which threatens her from the South, at the Muscovite barbarism which frowns upon her from the North.

But whether there be, or be not, a capacity in the Prussian nation for receiving this gift, we must not have to accuse ourselves of being the means of withholding it. We must be able to clear our consciences of the guilt of not having embraced every opportunity, of not having watched every indication of the will of Providence which might enable us to further so great a design. It is written, 'He that watereth others, shall be watered himself.' If we labour that our Protestant brethren may unite with us on Catholic principles, and for Catholic objects, we shall find out better than all doctors can teach us, what Catholicity is, how necessary it is to the support of Protestantism, how impossible it is that it can thrive without Protestantism. We shall not be put to the strange alternative of forsaking the steps of our fathers, in order that we may become more humble and reverent; we shall be able to abide in the Church of our own land, and yet to believe that *THE* Church belongs to no land, that our citizenship is in the Heavens.

I have now, Sir, met your challenge and considered your arguments, and I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your obedient servant,

F. M.

---

## POSTSCRIPT.

—  
ON A THIRD PAMPHLET BY MR. PALMER.  
—

SINCE the foregoing sheets were sent to the press, I have met with your *third* pamphlet, which is an answer to a letter in the Oxford University Herald, signed 'A Protestant Catholic.'

The writer of the letter thinks it seems as I do, and as most Englishmen do, that our Church is both Protestant and Catholic. He asks the supporters of ultra-Protestantism, whether they would wish to substitute the word Protestant for Catholic in the Creed, and you, whether you acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, &c. Assuming that the answer to each of these questions would be in the negative, he concludes that the double character of the Church is generally acknowledged, and that whatever you or your opponents may pretend, neither of you would really wish that she should lose it.

Your answer is threefold. In the first place you affirm that a true Protestant, though he may use the word Catholic, affixes to it a sense of his own, that he regards it as a synonyme of Universal, and means by it an aggregate of sects. Secondly, you say, that if the writer of the letter gives to Protestantism any other signification than that in which it is synonymous with the right of making a creed for ourselves, that signification is an unusual and a delusive one, one which might apply to the Greeks, who anathematize Lutherans and Protestants. Thirdly, you declare in the following sentence what your own doctrine respecting the supremacy of the Pope is:—

"If the Sovereigns of England, who in past time violently took away from the Pope that jurisdiction which, whether



rightly or wrongly, he had acquired over our Church, were now in the same manner to restore, or even increase it, and our Church submitted as she submitted at the first, I would just as freely submit to it as I submit to any other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction: nay, further, I think that if other differences could be settled, it would be unworthy of Christian Bishops to dispute unnecessarily about jurisdiction, and that the State ought also to make some amends for the violence it then used.

"On the other hand, I do not believe that the jurisdiction which was taken away from the Pope was of Divine right, nor even according to the spirit of the Œcumenical Canons, nor safe for the Church at large; nor do I believe that the definition of the visible Church is necessarily limited by practical obedience to Rome; nor that the Bishop or Church of Rome, or any given Councils of Bishops, are to be viewed as in themselves and strictly speaking infallible antecedently to the reception of their decrees by the Church at large."

The rest of the letter is taken up with some remarks upon transubstantiation, the Council of Trent, the parish in which you were born, and your visit to the Continent in the summer of 1833. To these topics I shall not advert; upon those which concern my subject and my readers, I will make a few observations.

1. I am not in the least concerned to defend the substitution of the word Universal for Catholic. I think a Greek word is more expressive than a Latin one, and perhaps there is more of the feeling of wholeness or entireness conveyed by the one than by the other. Nevertheless, I believe the word Universal, rightly understood, necessarily involves this meaning, and is incompatible with the notion of a mere collection of atoms. I should not therefore think that the sects had gained much, if they could secure this alteration. You, I confess, would gain much for your purposes, if you could contrive, as you seem to wish, to translate the word Catholic, by Exclusive or Dogmatic. But as I do not at present see the etymological or theological warrant for that version, I shall continue to mean by the phrase "Catholic Church" the very largest fellowship which there can be in this

world, according to the scheme of God and the constitution of Man, a fellowship not subsisting in dogmas, but in a person. And I believe that not only the whole body of the Fathers, but every recognized formulary of the Eastern or the Western Church will support me in that position.

2. The definition which, I believe, is given of a 'Protestant' in all dictionaries—that which suggests itself immediately to all who have not been told of some other—that which is recognized as the true one on the Continent as well as in England\*, and has been so recognized for the last three hundred years is—One who protests or bears witness against the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. I do not care whether the Greeks call themselves Protestants or not; they are Protestants to all intents and purposes, and because they are so, I see the greatest hope of our being able to unite with them in Catholic fellowship. In a passage which you quote from the Canons of the Synod of Bethlehem, Christ is expressly affirmed to be the head of the Church in a sense which excludes the supremacy of a mortal Bishop. This is Protestantism; if that name is to designate all the fruits which Protestantism has, or which you suppose it has, produced, then must the word Romanism designate in our vocabulary, all the fruits which it has, or which we suppose it has, produced. I am well convinced that the Jesuitism of the last two centuries is quite as legitimate a progeny of Romanism as Rationalism is of Protestantism, and that the French Infidelity of the last century was the legitimate progeny of this Jesuitism; yet I do not imagine that Jesuitism and Infidelity are to enter into the definition of Romanism, or that I have a right to hold any Romanist, as such, responsible for either.

3. But the important point is, your view of the Pope's supremacy. I do not mean important in any other sense than this, that it brings the difference between us into the clearest

\* [This passage is too hastily worded. The first notion which a *German* attaches to the word connects it with a national diet consisting of more laymen than clergymen; the idea of the protest as being directly against the Pope belongs strictly to England. We are *more* directly anti-papal than any Lutheran or Calvinist.]



light, and shows that my meaning of the word Protestant is not a fanciful one, or an obsolete one. When you are using negative language, when you are denouncing others and separating from others, no one can accuse you of compromise. But the moment you begin to take a positive ground there is a practical feebleness and inconsistency in your statements, which, if what I have said in the former part of my pamphlet be true, this age will not bear. For I have maintained that if there be a Catholic Church, that Church must have a centre. Either the Pope is that centre, or, in assuming to be so he commits a monstrous intrusion upon the prerogatives of Christ. Either the existence of a Pope is the necessary condition of the being of a Church, or else it turns the Church into a contradiction. Either we ought to do him homage, not in the half way which you propose, but simply, unreservedly, absolutely; or else the Western Church will never be pure, never truly at one with itself, never at one with the Eastern, till it disclaims the Pope in any other character than as the Bishop of his own Roman Diocese. I said in my first letter, that the question was rapidly coming to this issue, and that furious denunciations either against Romanists or Protestants, would not help to settle it in the least. I alluded almost at hazard to a well-known Fellow of your College as a person on whom such language, against whomsoever it was directed, would produce no other effect than that of making him more disgusted with the English Church, and as one who, I supposed, was greatly moved to leave it by the desire of discovering a centre of unity. The words were scarcely printed when I met with a letter, entitled, "Some answer to the question, 'Why are you become a Catholic?'" by R. W. Sibthorp, B.D.\* It is written, as I was sure anything by him must be written, in a most kindly, genial, Christian spirit. It contains no anathemas; he evidently thinks that he is entering into a region of pure meekness and charity; but above all, every word in his pamphlet shows that what he needed was a Centre of Unity, that to obtain this was his object in submitting to the See of Rome. It would be foolish to treat his arguments contemptuously, as the utterances of an 'imagina-

\* Charles Dolman, 62, New Bond Street.

tive, impatient, or ill-formed mind.' They are ingenious arguments, clearly and eloquently expressed. They are such as I believe it will be very difficult for any one to meet who does not see that the existence of the Church depends upon the acknowledgment of the Son of God as the Universal Bishop of it; that every step of the Jewish economy was leading to the revelation of Him as the substitute for the earthly High Priest; that in Him all orders are constituted; that the Succession and Consecration of Bishops are the witnesses of His permanent and present Government; that the CATHOLIC CHURCH, which is grounded upon that Confession, and the ROMISH SYSTEM, which is grounded upon the denial of it, can never cease to be in conflict till the one or the other is overthrown.

---



## APPENDIX.

---

### I.

#### LEGAL OBJECTIONS TO THE BISHOPRIC.

---

SINCE I commenced my reply to Mr. Palmer, a pamphlet has fallen into my hands, entitled, "The Bishopric of the united Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, considered in a Letter to a Friend, by James R. Hope, B.C.L., Scholar of Merton, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury."

The objections to the measure which are raised in this pamphlet turn, like those of Mr. Palmer, on the difficulty and inconsistency of an alliance between English Churchmen and foreign Protestants; and the main staff of them both is the Prussian State Paper. But I need scarcely say to any one who has heard Mr. Hope's name, that his letter is as remarkable for temper and moderation, as for ability and legal learning. It must therefore make an impression upon the public mind, which Mr. Palmer's "Aids to Reflection" can never make. It will be appealed to as perfectly conclusive and irresistible by those who have arrived through a process of reasoning entirely different from his, and without any of his canonical wisdom, at the same conclusion; and it will stagger many who from zeal and love, rather than from reflection, have adopted the opposite one.

I conceive that I should be showing great diffidence of the cause I have undertaken to plead, as well as practical dishonesty, if I shrunk from noticing what is by far the ablest statement which has yet appeared, or is likely to appear, of the reasons on the other side. At the same time it is equally certain, that I should be guilty of great presumption, if I ventured to enter the

lists with an accomplished English and Ecclesiastical lawyer upon his own ground.

The questions which I felt that I was obliged to ask myself when I read Mr. Hope's pamphlet were these two: 1, How far do these positions, supposing them to be true, affect the principles upon which I have hitherto rested my approbation of the measure? And 2, Supposing they do not affect those principles, what degree of weight ought I nevertheless to assign to them?

The answers to which I arrived when I had considered these questions, I will now briefly set down, hoping that in doing so, I shall not be tempted to say one word which would seem like disrespect to the author of the letter, or to go one step beyond the province within which, as one in all legal matters *plane hospes*, I ought to confine myself.

The main doctrine of Mr. Hope's pamphlet is, if I understand him, this—The position of Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem is an anomalous and contradictory one. He is sent out as a Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland. He is (at least till communion can be renewed with the Eastern Church) a suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But then he is to have something to do with certain Prussian or Protestant congregations. What will he have to do with them? Will he acknowledge them as existing independently of him, as constituting another Church? He cannot do that, for he has no business to recognize them as a Church at all, except they are governed by a Bishop. Suppose him to take any such step as this, he practically renounces his own character, and makes all his acts invalid. Or, will he merely adopt these congregations into his own, so that they shall form a part of the Church of England and Ireland, receiving each member separately into communion with him, just as if they were not separate congregations at all? Suppose him to do this, and suppose him to require (which in that case he must require) that each person who is admitted to communion, shall pass through the previous stages which are demanded of the communicant in England, and that every minister shall be episcopally ordained, shall sign the thirty-nine articles, and shall use our liturgy, what then becomes of all that the Government of Prussia has said in the State Paper about the acknowledgment of the distinct rights and con-



stitutions of the two national Churches? One way or other there must be a delusion; either it is a mere pretence that the Bishop is a Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland, or else the agreement between the King of Prussia and the English Bishops is a mere pretence.

This, I believe, is a fair statement of Mr. Hope's meaning: if I have in anywise perverted it, the error is unintentional, and I shall be glad to correct myself.

Now let me recapitulate shortly the principles which I have endeavoured to maintain in my Letters to Mr. Palmer. I have endeavoured to show, that there are some Catholic elements in the constitution of our English Church, which are distinct from its national elements: That these Catholic elements must by their very nature be the grounds of communion with other Christian bodies: That the national elements can never form the basis of communion: That these are necessary to our own existence, but that it is a plain Catholic duty not to enforce them upon others: That these considerations, which ought never to be lost sight of at any time, are especially necessary for our time, when the main subject which occupies us is, What are the grounds of Catholic unity? How can we upon those grounds establish an actual communion with those who have been separated from us?

Thus far, except in one particular, my views accord exactly with those of the persons who are likely most to oppose this Bishopric. Those who wish for communion with Rome, expressly wish for it as a means of carrying out the Catholic elements in our Constitution; they say that that which is purely national, is not to stand in the way of such a communion; that nearly all which is so savours of Protestantism. They only differ with me in thinking that what is national ought to be discarded altogether.

Next I have maintained that the constitution of the Church rests upon the Incarnation of our Lord, and upon the acknowledgment that the whole body lives and is constituted in Him; that this truth is practically set aside by Romanism; that the constitution of the Church is therefore violated by Romanism; that its Catholicity is violated by Romanism, and that neither can be restored, unless there are bodies which bear a direct and steady protest against the violation. In this set of propositions

I am altogether at war with the persons to whom I have just alluded. They desire a visible centre for Christendom; they believe that a protest against such a centre is not the assertion of Catholicity, but the denial of it.

Next I have contended that the Church of England is bound to seek for fellowship with the Churches subject to the Roman Pontiff, with the Eastern Churches, and, in the comprehensive words of Mr. Palmer's dedication, "with all every where who only so much as name the name of Christ," provided it can be done without the sacrifice of that Catholic constitution which has been given us to defend, and on the preservation of which all hopes of unity depend; that we must sacrifice our Catholic constitution, if we acknowledge in any sense the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome—if we treat with the Emperor of Russia as if he were the Head of the Eastern Church—if we meet Lutherans or Calvinists merely on the footing of their individual faith or opinion, or their common dislike to some third party, which must be our bond of alliance with them if we give up the principle of episcopacy; that there is no obstacle to union with any Church of the West which gives up its subjection to the Pope, and meets us on the footing of our constitution in Christ—no obstacle to our union with the Eastern Church, when it comes forth in the persons of its Bishops to ask fellowship with us, or to receive it when it is offered—no obstacle to communion with the Lutherans and Calvinists of Germany, if they, starting from the great Church principle, which we hold in common with them, of Christ's Kingship or Headship over the Church, are willing to express it, not in words or professions, but in the act of submitting to an Episcopal Government. As these conclusions follow from the former, they are of course rejected by the same persons who reject them; rejected upon this ground, that the Protestants have, and the Romanists have not, violated the principles and order of the Church Universal.

Finally, I have maintained that the Bishops of the English Church could not, consistently with their Catholic character, reject any offer of fellowship from any of these bodies, provided it came before them in a way which involved no compromise of Catholic principles; that the proposal for founding a Bishopric at Jerusalem does not involve any such compromise; that in founding it, our Bishops unite with the subjects of the King of



Prussia, upon the Church principle which is common to us and them, of recognizing Christ's Headship of the Church; and that they do consent to express this principle as we express it, in the acknowledgment of a Bishop; that the proposition comes before us in the most legitimate way, proceeding from a King, whose vocation we acknowledge to be legitimate, and not from religious ministers, who have no organ through whom they can speak to us; that therefore all the obligations to dispense with national rules and maxims, for the sake of establishing communion, which were laid down generally before, apply to this emergency. To these last opinions the same persons who objected to the propositions before laid down, must necessarily object, because they are the regular and natural deductions from them.

Now I do not at all say that I have made these points, or any one of them, good; I do not say that Mr. Hope, or a person of very much less ability than Mr. Hope, may not be able to confute them. But I do say, that such as they are, they are not in the least affected by those arguments which he has put forward in his letter.

His objections turn upon points where National and Catholic jurisprudence touch upon each other; upon the position in which a Bishop of the National English Church stands in reference to certain Canons of that Church; upon the rules which, according to those Canons, must govern his intercourse with foreign Protestants; upon the kind of terms which he must exact from those Protestants, before he can consent to let them be accounted members of the English Church; upon the impossibility of their being accounted members of any body, except the English Church, provided they are in relation with him. All these points may be of great value and significance, but it will be a great and serious mistake, if any person goes away with the impression that they are Catholic principles, or have anything to do with Catholic principles. Of course, with infinitely less ingenuity than he has displayed in this pamphlet, Mr. Hope could have proved to persons who are thinking of a negociation with Rome, that they would violate both the civil and ecclesiastical maxims of English jurisprudence; that they would transgress Canons as well as incur *premunires*. Their immediate answer would be, 'We know it; we have counted the cost; we are Catholics; for your Anglican and your Protestant rules we care nothing at all.'

I use no such language, but I have a right to call upon those who shall hereafter speak of Mr. Hope's letter as a great defence of Catholic principles against the wicked projects of Protestant Bishops or Diplomats, to take heed what they say. Mr. Hope is appealing to the very arguments which they set at nought. He may be using them only as clever arguments *ad hominem*, because he thinks these are the only reasons a mere Protestant can understand, in which case we may, if we please, decline to be tried in the lower court, and appeal to the higher one. But, at all events, our opponents will not allow these reasons to have any weight with themselves, and therefore they cannot refer to them as quite decisive against others.

But, secondly, I wish to inquire how far these arguments of Mr. Hope's, supposing them to leave the principles of the case just where they were, ought to have weight in determining the question, and proving the measure a wrong or an inexpedient one. In order to ascertain this point satisfactorily, let it be clearly and distinctly remembered that there is not, and cannot be, an intention on the part of those who are concerned in this measure to recognize bodies which have not a Bishop, as ecclesiastically constituted. I have pressed this point again and again in my letter to Mr. Palmer. I should scarcely think it necessary to repeat it in contending with a person so clear-sighted and acute as Mr. Hope, if it were not quite evident from his whole letter that this dream or phantasy has in spite of his better judgment been floating before him;—I say in spite of his better judgment, for my own conclusions on the subject are formed from the facts of the case as they lie before me. A more strange and preposterous method of bringing the English Church into the false position of sanctioning the unepiscopal constitution than that of submitting Protestant congregations hitherto unepiscopal to the authority of a Bishop, and causing ministers hitherto without episcopal ordination to be ordained by a Bishop, was certainly never devised by the wit of man.

Again; let it be observed, that the application to Bishop Alexander, of the words 'Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland,' is itself a concession, a very remarkable concession, to the Episcopal principle; one which I contend we had no right to exact, and which it shows the perfectly good faith of the negociators on the other side, that they were willing to



make. We do not want, we have no right to desire the extension of the English Church into Syria. We have, as I have contended before, a right to wish that there should be a body in Syria protesting for the Catholic principle of union in Christ against the principle of a visible unity, to which the Romanists voluntarily, the Greeks involuntarily, have submitted—protesting for this principle, before Mahomedans and Jews; in the hope that by so doing we may make the Greeks sensible of the dignity of their position, and may, not by efforts at conversion, but by the silent influence of a true, beside a pseudo-catholicism, emancipate also the subjects of the Pope. This was, upon the principles I have put forward, a most reasonable, most godly, most Catholic desire. Nevertheless, as to the form of it, this natural wish is abandoned. The English, precisely because it is an Episcopally constituted Church, is invested by the consent of Prussia with a dignity to which, properly and strictly speaking, we can put in no claim. As a nation we have no business to grasp at this honour; but it is granted to us on purpose that church order may be preserved; on purpose that there may be no appearance of setting up Protestantism as an exclusive denying thing; on purpose that the Bishop may have a distinct and recognized sphere for his labour; on purpose that he may be seen not to intrude on the province of the Greek Patriarch; on purpose that the Greeks may feel that Protestants, who, as they supposed, have thrown aside Bishops altogether, can and will only speak to them through a Bishop. To compass these high ends, the King of Prussia puts to an apparent hazard, the very principle which he as a monarch is bound to contend for,—the distinctness and independence of his nation,—its right as a nation not to be governed by those ecclesiastical rules and maxims which merely belong to our national church, and not to our church as part of the Catholic body. He puts this principle apparently to hazard because he knows that if we are sincere in our professions, as he gives us credit for being—if we are true Catholics as we boast of being—if we are not merely putting forth the pretence of Catholicism for the sake of magnifying and glorifying our own Anglicanism—we must wish as much as he does, that the German Church should be distinct from the English Church, and that both should be united in the common bond of a Divine Head, and of Catholic institutions.

Now this being the state of things, Mr. Hope comes forward and tells us that he has discovered a flaw in the position of Bishop Alexander, that he must stumble either to the right or to the left, that he must be either very speedily removed by the English Church on the one hand or utterly disavowed by the Prussian monarch on the other. We ask, On what ground? and the answer is; this is necessary by the canons of the Church which has sent out Bishop Alexander—canons which he has sworn to obey. I wish to know whether Mr. Hope is ready to carry out this principle of literal obedience to canons and statutes in all cases? Is he prepared to say, for instance, that every Fellow of a college, *ipso facto*, ceases to be the member of a college when he commits a literal or formal violation of its statutes? No one knows better than he does what the effect of such a doctrine would be. No one knows better than he, perhaps no one knows as well, how triumphantly that doctrine has been and may be refuted. ‘In the first place,’ say the University authorities upon this subject, ‘it is not wise to alter the letter of statutes formed in another age, because that letter embodies a spirit by which we ought to be governed; secondly, the very existence of college authorities, and of a visitor, implies a dispensing power as to cases which are obviously and necessarily affected by the change of age and circumstances, even as they are meant to ensure permanence to those principles and ordinances which belong to no time; thirdly, every man is answerable to God by the oaths which he takes for acting up to the meaning and intent, as far as he can perceive it, of those to whom he owes his position and support, but he is absolved by that very appeal to the Searcher of hearts from doing acts, however apparently—in the sight of men—required by his professions, which would really interfere with the right and useful performance of them.’ I do not know enough of the history and particular circumstances of colleges to say how strictly those principles can be brought to bear upon them, but that they are on the whole sound moral principles, far above the suspicion of casuistical evasion, I make no doubt. Moreover, these principles have been considered in all ages as characteristically Church principles. I do not say that there has not been a danger of their being perverted into the establishment of a peculiar morality for clerks distinct from that which binds laymen; just so far as



this has been the case they have been applied mischievously. Nor do I say that there is not a set of persons whose mere business it is to enforce the letter, at all risks and hazards. But I do mean that it has been a sacred feeling in the minds of churchmen, that *they* were sent into the world for the express purpose of asserting the sense of the law against those who would exalt customs and maxims in opposition to it. Hear how one of them speaks in the 12th century. The passage has reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and it is written by the chosen friend and companion of Becket. "Item," he says, "*Nusquam invenitur Dominus dixisse, Ego sum consuetudo sed dicit Ego sum Veritas. Item, consuetudinis ususe longævi non tanta est auctoritas ut aut rationem vincat ut ait Imperator Paganus aut legem. Immo revelatione factâ aequitatis et veritatis cedat Usus Rationi, ut in decretis scripserunt sancti patres quorum ergo contra rationem et ecclesiasticam libertatem statuit et scripsit Rex Christianus\*.*"

Perhaps Mr. Hope may say that these remarks only apply to the customs and laws of a country, not to the decrees of the Church itself. Now I apprehend that the acts of the first Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, must possess as much sacredness as those of any council which ever sat. Yet three out of four of the decisions of that council have never been considered binding upon any set of persons, except those to whom they were immediately addressed. By putting an actual moral delinquency in the same category with a set of positive rules belonging to the condition of the newly-converted heathen, the apostles showed that the transgression of those rules would have been a real sin, because it would have been a violation of obedience to the heads of the Church, and a breach of its unity. By giving the reasons of their judgment, and the circumstances which called it forth, they themselves restricted the application of their maxims. By transmitting the reasons, the circumstances, and the maxims, to us, they endowed us with a precious legacy, immeasurably more valuable as the guide of the conduct of the Church, in different times and emergencies, than any rules which would tie up its freedom could possibly be. Happily, the circumstances under which canons were made, and even the dis-

\* Vita Sancti Thomæ Cantauarensis, a G. Stephanie Conscripta, p. 35, Ed. Sparke.

cussions in many of the other councils, are preserved to us, so that we have no excuse for not deriving from them similar lessons; no excuse for lowering them to the standard of the decisions in an ordinary court of law. And though lawyers may sometimes use alarming words, to frighten us ignorant and vagrant Churchmen, about the necessity of adhering to the letter of statutes and precedents, yet we are not so entirely uninformed respecting the history of their own proceedings, as not to know that the highest specimens of judicial wisdom which exist, are not of this servile kind. Mr. Bentham used to speak of the law of England, as "judge-made law," because it was not derived from a code, but was in great part the result of the meditations of learned men, upon the laws and customs of former days, and upon the precedents of their predecessors. In these meditations they endeavoured to discover a principle and a meaning which might rule their own opinions, in the ever-varying cases that from time to time offered themselves. If we are not to be Benthamites in civil matters, we certainly will not be so in ecclesiastical. It was the higher reason that governed in this department, which the men of laws and letters have imitated in theirs. If we cease to present them with a model of that higher reason, and ignominiously stoop to take our lessons from them, they will suffer as much as we shall.

The result of these remarks is, that if the principles which I have contended for in the earlier part of this pamphlet be true, it would have been a sin in the Bishops of our Church to let these canonical objections hinder them from embracing an opportunity, not sought for by them, but offering itself to them most unexpectedly, of promoting Catholic unity, and advancing Catholic principles. And that it will be a sin in us, if we allow these canonical objections, supposing no higher and stronger reasons can be produced, to hinder us from giving God thanks for what has been done, and from labouring, so far as in us lies, that it may not have been done in vain. I do not mean to say that in addition to all the outward perils, and inward temptations, of Bishop Alexander's position, he must not expect that he will be exposed to peculiar difficulties, from the relation in which he stands to Germany, as well as to England. It is quite right that he should know, that questions of the greatest delicacy will be continually presenting themselves to him; that



if he decides them one way, he may be exposed to the censures of critics in England; if in another, to the censures of critics in Prussia. To steer a clear course amid such quicksands—to know what acts would indicate merely a slavish deference to opinion—what acts must be performed or omitted, in order to preserve a principle—to be really cautious, and yet to avoid that most dangerous caution, which is only another name for cowardice and inactivity—to remember continually that he is sent out as a Bishop of the English Church, but yet for the purpose of maintaining a ground upon which all nations may meet; for this he will unquestionably need continual supplies of the Spirit of grace and of wisdom. No measures of human sagacity will avail in such circumstances—thorough simplicity, singleness of heart, dependence upon God, I trust will. But then it seems to me, that we at home should cultivate the same habits of mind, that we should be endeavouring to keep great objects in sight, to assure ourselves of the ground on which we stand, and then be ready to pursue the one, and to maintain the other, without caring what names we bear, or what legal and logical formulas we set aside and trample upon.

There is one other passage in Mr. Hope's pamphlet which I wish to notice. He complains that this measure has been carried into effect by only two or three Bishops, with the concurrence of those who were met at convocation, and he wishes that it had been submitted to 'a conclave of Canonists,' or at least to 'free discussion.' A conclave of Canonists! Yes, if it be our duty to furnish Dr. Wiseman with a new chapter in his book on the sterility of our Missions; if it be our bounden duty to prove how little we have in common with the Gregories, and Augustines, and Bonifaces, of other days; if those who have been in past time the hinderers of every godly enterprise, by their endless quibbles and altercations, are to be the only promoters of them now—such an expedient would have been most desirable. But let not Mr. Hope suppose that any such grave body will be called to deliberate upon the proceedings of those who take the opposite course to that which I have recommended. Those who shake off their allegiance to the English Church, and determine upon an alliance with Rome, will not act under the direction of a conclave of Canonists. They (just as much as we) will make light of mere verbal difficulties, and inconsistencies, in

the pursuit of an end which they have satisfied themselves is a right one. They (just as much as we) will talk of acting upon faith and confidence, and of the necessity of not being checked by mere formalities. Therefore, it must come at last to that point to which I wish that it should come at first—What is the right end? What is the most simple and Catholic method of attaining it?

But Mr. Hope thinks that something might have been gained\* by free discussion, as well as by the advice of Canonists, by the wisdom of this age, as well as by the wisdom of the past. I am afraid I shall seem very captious when I say, that the one notion seems to me as much a dream as the other. What indications were there in this case, that free discussion was possible, or that the discussion which was set on foot was likely to bear any good fruits? What could be gained in a great and delicate question of theological politics, into which every form of violent partizanship and mischievous diplomacy might intrude itself; by letters in newspapers, tending to excite Englishmen, perplex Germans, and alienate Greeks? What blessing could be looked for from the accomplishment or the rejection of a scheme, which had been brought to pass through the agency of leading articles, or defeated by the publication of some insulting attack upon a friendly nation, or upon our own Ecclesiastical Rulers? Surely, those who give thanks for this measure, as proceeding from the providence of God and not the wisdom of man, as giving simultaneous expression to principles which had seemed to contradict each other, as holding forth the promise of most blessed results to Christians of the East and West, to Mahomedans, and to Jews, may be permitted to rejoice in this as one of its additional excellencies, that the agents in it have not been the mob, the press, or even the Senate†; but those to whom God has

\* Mr. Hope has corrected me on this point. [See the Appendix to this edition.]

† One remark in Mr. Hope's letter is worthy of all attention. He thinks that he has observed in some of the promoters of the new Bishopric a tendency to substitute the Old Jerusalem for the New; to fancy that the ancient City of God may become, and ought to become, that, which the City on the Seven Hills has been, and ought not to have been. I also have observed this tendency and lamented it. Certainly the craving for a local, visible centre, must be very deeply rooted in our carnal nature, as deeply as the craving for a real divine centre, whereof it is the counterfeit, is rooted in our inner man. It is always



committed the guidance of His Church in England, those to whom He has committed the guidance of a great nation abroad, upon each of whom we believe that He will, for the honour of His own ordinances, in a day when they are despised, bestow the spirit of counsel, and of wisdom, and of the fear of the Lord.

ready to exhibit itself; such a measure as this is very likely to have called it forth and given it momentary strength. But I believe the faithful and earnest study of Jewish History is the best corrective of the evil effects which the partial study of it produces. The Jews fell because they exalted their nation in itself, and not in its king; and because they could not believe that all nations were to be gathered into his fold. If they are restored, these sins must be repented of and forsaken; those, therefore, who are most anxious for their restoration, should be most careful by no acts or words to encourage them. The consecration of a Jewish Bishop, rightly considered, is the best possible witness against them; for the Institution of Episcopacy, however it may have been perverted, is a strong and practical declaration that the Church is not local but universal.

---





## II.

ON THE  
PAMPHLETS OF DR. PUSEY AND DR. ABEKEN,  
AND ON  
MR. HOPE'S REPLY TO APPENDIX I.

---

SINCE the first edition of this pamphlet appeared, the subject discussed in it has received elucidation from several quarters.

1. The first and the most important notice of it occurs in Dr. Pusey's recent Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. As it was known that Dr. Pusey was personally acquainted with modern Germany, and had defended the religious spirit of it against what he conceived to be the too harsh censures of one who was himself on the most friendly terms with many German Lutherans, and who I am sure regarded their country with no feeling of hostility,—it was impossible not to refer to the part of his pamphlet which discusses the Jerusalem Bishopric and our Prussian connection, with even more than the interest which his writings usually inspire. The tone which had pervaded the two former divisions of his Letter, seemed to give a sure pledge of the method in which this subject would be treated. Dr. Pusey had besought the Archbishop not to judge harshly of the opinions and feelings of a class of men who had been subject to much misrepresentation—not to look severely at the weaknesses into which some of them might have been betrayed; but to allow for their circumstances, to consider their history, to take account of the errors against which they had protested, to recognize the good which was in them, not to make the evil worse if it was there by dwelling upon it alone. Another object which he seemed to have much at heart, was to humble our national vanity, to show us how great our sins had been, how low our state at present is, how much wiser it would be that we should repent and reform together, than rail at our brethren, and set up our practice, as if it were a model for other nations to walk by. Again, in this as in all the other writings of Dr. Pusey, there

is of course an express or implied recognition of the great importance of Catholic institutions, and a wish that these should even now be the means of raising our own practice, and should become the bonds of union with the rest of Christendom. How certainly then might we have predicted, that when Dr. Pusey began to speak of those Germans whom he had known so well, and defended so ably, there would have been great caution and tenderness, kind allowance for faults, anxiety to explain the causes of errors which could not be overlooked, eagerness to detect the good which was lurking under them! How confident one had a right to feel, that he would, of all men, be the most careful not to encourage our habit of self-gratulation, by any allusion to the topics of which we are wont to boast when we are comparing ourselves with foreigners! What pains, one would have said, will not Dr. Pusey take, to show that the only reason of our separation from German Protestants is their want of that Catholic constitution, by reviving our recollections of which, he desires that our own evils should be redressed!

How stands the case? This portion of the Letter is taken up with a contrast between the religious *practices* of Germany and those of England. Every point wherein the Germans differ from us is exhibited in the worst light; the points in our practice which are unlike theirs in the most favourable. We commonly attend service twice on the Sunday, they but once; we kneel at prayers, they stand; we observe the Lord's-day, they neglect it. It matters not whether, as in the last-named case, the practice of the Protestants is common to them with their Romanist neighbours,—common to them with those who published the Book of Sports in the most idolized time of our own history,—everything must be pressed into the service, that the English people may be made to think worse of their neighbours, even at the fearful cost of thinking too well of themselves. Now there is certainly no item in Dr. Pusey's catalogue in which my own feelings are not strictly English, and therefore (so far as his charges are well founded) anti-German. But when he proceeds to draw the inference, that these practical deficiencies and offences of theirs are bars to communion, not only now, but even if the defects of their constitution were redressed, that they are insuperable obstacles to our taking ever so humble a part in the removal of those defects even if the Germans themselves desired it, I



must beseech thoughtful men to consider the consequences of such a doctrine. Will no German be tempted to ask, whether our clerical simony is not some set-off against their breaches of the Sabbath-day, supposing even that crime were not as much chargeable, though in another form, upon the upper classes among us, as it is upon them? May not the fierceness of our parties be something almost as intolerable in the sight of God, as their standing at prayers?

But is this all? Does not Dr. Pusey's argument go the length of making any fellowship with the Greek or the Latin Church just as impossible as with Protestant Germany? It is no longer a question about institutions, apostolic succession, or any such matters. Dr. Pusey has wilfully chosen the ground of *practices* and of religious feeling, in preference to that ground. Then if it can be shown that there is great religious ignorance and immorality among the Greek priesthood, nay, that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the solemnest eve of the whole year, horrible orgies frequently take place, which are followed by conflicts between Greeks and Romanists, not seldom terminating in blood, we are bound to say,—not that we will do our utmost to check such evils, by recognising the Greeks as Christians, by entering into fellowship with them, by awakening them to a sense of their privileges and their duties, by stirring up their bishops to the use of discipline,—but that we will hold them at a distance from us, that we will treat them as outcasts from the Church. Upon the same principle, the abuses in practice and doctrine which disgraced the Church in the middle ages are to be reasons for regarding it as no Church at all. And so we come back by another route to the maxims of those against whom Dr. Pusey and his friends have been so long protesting.

2. Dr. Pusey's Letter has called forth a remonstrance from a German Clergyman, Dr. Abeken. If I thought before that the comparison between the religious state of England and Germany would have been more wisely suppressed, this reply has very greatly strengthened my conviction. I do not allude to the proofs which Dr. Abeken has produced of the reverence which the Reformers felt for the Catholic Church, to his refutation of the argument which has been so unfairly drawn from the use of the word "Churches" at the beginning of the Augsburg Confession,

to his striking testimony respecting the effect of the divine judgments upon his countrymen. I refer rather to the spirit which he has himself exhibited under circumstances of what I must call very great provocation.

No one can read Dr. Pusey's remarks upon Germany, and not feel how galling they must be to any member of the nation which he attacks, but above all to one of its clergy. At the same time a German must have seen how difficult it would be to make an English public understand that they are exaggerated or unfair. Dr. Pusey's word would pass for law with one powerful section of the Church, in any case in which he did not interpose it to shelter Protestants or to restrain some flattery of Rome. He would be regarded as an authority on German questions by all, and he had availed himself of many topics by which the party most opposed to him are likely to be even more affected than he is himself. Under such circumstances, I believe nineteen out of twenty persons in our land would have been tempted to make use of the prejudice which Dr. Pusey's name and his opinions excite in a portion of the religious world, for the sake of creating a counter irritation. I appeal to any one who has read Dr. Abeken's pamphlet, and who knows anything himself of the insidiousness of the controversial spirit, whether he has not overcome this temptation to a degree which is quite marvellous. Without affecting to be cold or calm in a case where his love for his country is concerned, he has preserved a tone of affectionateness and charity towards our Church, and towards his opponents, the like of which I do not remember to have seen in any theological pamphlet.

I do not put forward Dr. Abeken as a specimen of the German Protestants; but neither can we without monstrous vanity pretend that Dr. Pusey is the specimen of an average English clergyman. We know too well how few we have to compare with him. In contrasting, therefore, their mode of treating the same topic, I am certainly not acting unfairly by our own Church. Nay, I am afraid it might be argued, that the higher tone which Dr. Pusey has adopted in one part of his pamphlet, must be attributed to his own personal character, and that, where he speaks of the Germans, he sinks into but too faithful a representative of that exclusive temper which is natural to every Englishman who does not labour by discipline



to cure himself of it, or rather to cultivate the truer national feeling which is the substitute for it. But if Dr. Abeken does express the habit of thinking which German education and influences are likely to produce, as fairly as Dr. Pusey's remarks on the Jerusalem Bishopric express our ordinary temper of mind, it is a very hazardous thing to try our respective conditions by their practical results.

I do not mean that there is a word in Dr. Abeken's Letter which leads me to think that a country without episcopacy is as happy as one which possesses it. I know no document that has appeared which has done so much to rivet me in the opposite opinion. Though he has expressed no judgment himself upon the matter, yet the very earnestness with which he has defended his nation has made him a better and more effectual witness of what it wants. In striving to show how much Germans yearn to be Catholic, he makes us understand more clearly why their yearning has not yet been accomplished. He throws a light upon the value of the institution, which we who possess it could never have thrown; he enables us to feel that it is not an outward, formal thing, but the very means whereby a Church manifests itself, whereby it becomes actual instead of potential, whereby that which is merely in the heart of individuals finds its expression in a body politic.

The doubt, however, which has been raised, is not whether Germans can safely dispense with episcopacy, but whether they are in a condition to receive it. Of course the question admits of several constructions. That which would make it signify, "Ought episcopacy to be thrust upon a nation against its will?" is not worthy of a moment's consideration. No one has ever defended such a proposition; and therefore those who undertake to refute it, must have a great deal of time upon their hands, which they have no better way of employing than in knocking down air castles of their own raising. Or it may mean, Are the Germans really desirous of Episcopacy? Upon which point I will speak presently. Or lastly, it may mean, Are the Germans, supposing they desire this gift, to be pronounced unworthy of it by us? This is not a childish question: it is a very serious one indeed. The answer I was disposed to give it, after reading these two Letters, was, *If they are not worthy to receive the gift, we are certainly not worthy to retain it.* I believe that it would be

much easier to make out the one proposition than the other. Where there is an earnest desire for communion on one side, and repulsion and contempt on the other; where one is suffering from the want of an institution, and the other only boasts of possessing it; where one claims only brotherhood, and the other assumes the office of a judge; I must inquire with trembling, whether it is not quite as consistent with God's dealings, that the candlestick should be taken from the second, as that it should be refused to the first.

I am not in the least able to pronounce what the general tone of feeling among Prussians upon this subject is; that it has been greatly misrepresented by those who have said (their wish being father to the thought) that the Jerusalem Bishopric was utterly unpopular, is manifest from the large collection which a very poor country has made in support of the Hospital connected with it. If it had met with no opposition, it would have wanted one evident token of its being a sound and important measure. But I suspect that in judging of the mind and temper of Prussia, we have applied maxims which belong only to England. We have attached too little value to the personal feelings of the sovereign, as indicative of a spirit already existing in the more thoughtful of his subjects, and therefore likely to diffuse itself among them. We have attached far too much importance to the language of journalists, and the opinions of divines, when writing systematically upon the question of episcopacy; far too little to a number of influences, literary, artistical, political, which may be giving an ultimate direction to the thoughts of a nation, quite different from that which mere dry utterances on controversial questions seem to indicate. And I may venture to remark, that those who resort to the loftiest language of poetry, for the purpose of describing the rapidity with which their own opinions have travelled during the last ten years, shooting as beacon-lights from hill to hill, till the whole land has caught the reflection of them, should not undervalue the influences which even a few thoughtful, earnest minds may produce upon the religious development of a nation, when a number of pre-disposing circumstances have already been at work to favour the diffusion of their words.

As to the expectation which some, I have no doubt, cherish, that these moral influences may assume a different character,



and may lead Prussia to desire religious fellowship with Austria and Bavaria, rather than with Sweden or with England, there may be a warrant for it which I do not know of. It should be remembered, however, that these influences have been at work for a long time, that they produced certain striking effects many years ago, that some of the strongest feelings which have lately been called forth in Protestant Germany have been in a contrary direction. That artificial, fantastic, idolatrous form, which the modern Catholic spirit has assumed in Bavaria, appeals not to the deeper thoughts and sympathies of men, (though it may by accident, and through the feeling that Catholic fellowship is not otherwise to be attained, associate itself with these,) but to those vulgar, sensual habits and tendencies, against which Luther, and all who love his memory, have ever wrestled in themselves and in others. I conceive, therefore, that the men who are likely to make the strongest impression upon German Protestants will not be those who bid them satisfy their Catholic cravings by submitting to the teachers of the Munich school, but far rather those who bid them hold fast what they have, not suffering any man to take the crown which was won for them at the Reformation, and who, in order that they may preserve it, bid them seek for those institutions which Romanists abused, and which Luther prized,—institutions which may enable them to prove that Germany has a true Catholic Church within her, one capable of drawing all the different states into fellowship.

The question how this end may be realized must of course be secondary in our minds to those questions which immediately concern our own position as members of the English Church. It was especially my object in this pamphlet to prove that we must not sacrifice our own standing ground from any fancy that we may help another people to obtain a better one for themselves. Upon this point there is no dispute; we are grateful to those who have been at the pains of reasoning it out; to some persons the demonstration may be very important; *we* take the result of it for granted. But, we must remember, it is the position of the English *Church* about which we are inquiring. Does that word "Church" imply something which belongs exclusively to our soil? or is the idea of a communion not limited by locality necessarily involved in it? This is a question which twenty years ago people might not have proposed to themselves, or might

not have thought practically important; though even then the answer would have been nearly unanimous, at least as to words, "a church is by its nature Catholic." Now this subject is forcing itself upon the thoughts of every one. It cannot be put aside; it cannot be treated as one of mere theoretical interest. The cry has gone forth; this Catholicity is no accident of the Church, but her essence: if she has it she must act upon it. If, therefore, any one gives to the words "the English Church must maintain her position," the sense "she must maintain an *exclusive* position; she must act as if she had nothing to do with those who lie beyond her own national circle;" it seems to me that he is forgetting the very subject he is talking about, and that he has no escape from the charge of theoretical inconsistency in the allegation that he is a practical man; for the ground he has taken is felt to be untenable, not by one but by all parties among us.

Nevertheless, there must be some true feeling which induces persons, in spite of the meaning which they attach to this word "Church," in spite of the strong bias there is towards Catholicity in our time, still to contend for the preservation of that wherein we are unlike people in other countries. There must be some motive, I say; for this feeling is most general among us. If we hear one of our parties say, Do not abandon the glorious peculiarities of our Church, that you may make us like Romanists, we hear another saying just as vehemently, Do not abandon the peculiarities of our Church for the sake of making us like foreign Protestants. So that if we all, in one set of terms or another, say, that the Church to be a Church must be universal, most of us, in one set of terms or another, do also say, that it is *peculiar*, and ought to remain so. Here seems to be a difficulty, but it is one which is implied in the very combination of the words "English" and "Church." The adjective must denote something national and peculiar, the substantive must denote something unlimited and universal. My belief, and I think the belief of most Englishmen, is, that we can no more get rid of this apparent opposition than we can get rid of the opposition between body and soul, or can deny that they are united in the same individual. God has ordered it so; and in what he has ordered there can be no real contradiction. What we have to do is to inquire how he has meant us to act upon the supposition that these two different elements are both created by him. The



Romanist takes a different view of the matter; he cuts the knot by a theory of his own; he says, the Church is to be universal, and the element of nationality is to be sacrificed. We have the results of his experiment before us. We say that they are quite conclusive. In order to destroy nationality he has destroyed catholicity. A peculiar State has been enthroned, as the ruling power in Christendom; the Church, in fact, has turned herself into a state or particular nation, in order to get rid of states and national Churches. And yet she has not got rid of them. The Churches subject to this rule have still been called Gallican, Spanish, or Portuguese; have still struggled to assert the reality of those names. The fact has been too strong for the theory. And therefore we say that the nations which threw off this particular rule were maintaining God's facts against man's theories, a truth against a contradiction; that each particular Church had a right to assert its nationality; had a right to fence itself round with laws and canons for the sake of preserving it. But since it could not divest itself of its name, nor of the idea which that name imports, such peculiar laws and canons could not be its constitution; they could only be the guardians of it. And therefore when any circumstances bring the question prominently into debate, how we may be united with other people, how we may prove that we are not merely Anglicans, it becomes most important to inquire what this constitution is, that we may neither abandon any part, from not understanding it, nor throw aside any of the barriers which are necessary to protect it, nor confound with the thing itself our own contrivances for the defence of it.

To examine these questions was the purpose of my Letters to Mr. Palmer. I found him affirming, that if our Church would be Catholic she must not be Protestant. I said she must be Protestant first, in order to support her nationality; secondly, in order that she might preserve those institutions which Mr. Palmer and I agreed in considering Catholic, and that she might give to those institutions their highest and most spiritual meaning. I then showed that, if she retained this protest, she could hold fellowship with any Church, call it Greek, call it Latin, call it Protestant, which would meet her upon the ground of her Catholic constitution, and would reject all notions and theories which are inconsistent with it. I maintained lastly,

that upon this ground she might unite with the king of Prussia in founding a bishopric at Jerusalem, because he did not ask her to part with her constitution, but gave her a new opportunity of maintaining it.

But when I arrived at this point I found myself encountered by another opponent. Mr. Hope had maintained, in an able pamphlet, that the Church established at Jerusalem was, if anything at all, a branch of the English Church; that it was consequently bound by our Canons; that these Canons required the use of a particular liturgy, and certain preliminaries to communion; that the members of any nation who placed themselves under episcopal authority must submit to these rules; that the attempt to maintain a distinct German Church side by side with the English, and in fellowship with it, was anomalous and impossible. To these objections, so far as they were merely technical, I made no reply. Mr. Hope, I had no doubt, was on his own ground right; at all events I had no business to say that he was not. But it might be that the technical defect involved a serious violation of Catholic principles; or it might be that it involved a violation of national principles; or if not, it might be that it involved a violation of the oaths by which an English bishop had bound himself. Could any one of these points be proved I gave up my cause; if not, I contended that the reasons in favour of the Bishopric ought to ride over arguments which in that case did not affect principles, but were merely of a formal character, such as statesmen and churchmen in all ages had made light of, when any great objects were to be accomplished.

3. I am obliged to repeat these heads of my argument, though I hope they will make themselves sufficiently evident to every reader of my Appendix, because Mr. Hope has within the last month published a Postscript to his Letter, in which he has done me the honour to notice the remarks which I made upon him. I hope my readers will not trust to any statements I may make respecting this Postscript, but will peruse it themselves. I should be sorry if any one were to derive his notion of what I have written from it; I should be still more sorry to misrepresent anything which Mr. Hope has written. Of his general tone I have no right to complain. He evidently attaches no great weight to my arguments; but this is quite natural, and compa-



tible with perfect courtesy. In one instance, however, he has drawn an inference from my words which has certainly surprised me.

Commenting upon my assertion that the Canons do not belong to our Catholic Constitution, but are merely national barriers, Mr. Hope asks, "Does it follow that Bishop Alexander's obligation to observe the Canons is not based upon Catholic ground? From what part of Scripture or primitive antiquity can it be shown that oaths do not bind men except in things otherwise imperative on conscience?" Now I should as soon think of asking whether adultery or murder is commended by Scripture or primitive antiquity, as whether this doctrine concerning oaths is sanctioned by either. I have the best reason to believe that Mr. Hope did not mean to accuse me of approving this opinion; still I must be very anxious to show that no such meaning lurked in my words, or could by any fair methods be extracted out of them. In what I said of the catholicity of the Canons, I was speaking of their character and origin merely, not of their obligation. If I had remarked that the oaths which are taken at the Custom-house refer to trade, and the oath respecting transubstantiation to religion, it would not be reasonable to conclude that I supposed there was no religion in the Custom-house oath, or that it might be more safely broken than the other. Yet the cases are precisely the same. Moreover, I did bestow a separate consideration upon the question how the oaths which Bishop Alexander had taken were to be observed; and Mr. Hope has made a distinct reply to that portion of my remarks.

Mr. Hope, however, does not allow me to inquire whether the Canons as Canons belong to the Catholic or to the national portion of our Church, because he says that since the Reformation these two portions of it have become indistinguishable. He tells me that I have a "theory"—"a private theory"—"of what constitutes the groundwork of the Church Catholic;" "that there are some who think my theory a good one," "but that there are those who, as *I admit*, hold a different view;" that my "theory rests chiefly upon a negative;" that "in the mean time the Church has made laws which we are to obey;" that "if obedience is to depend upon individual theories, Church authority is at an end." There is one of these assertions to which I must take an imme-

diate exception. Mr. Hope says that I admit that there are those in the Church who hold a different view from mine. If he means that I admit that there are those who wish to find a new centre for the institutions which they and I agree in believing to be Catholic, and who wish to abandon those parts in our Church which they and I agree in believing to be national, he is right. If he means that I admit that there are persons who think more lightly than I do of the institutions which they and I agree in believing to be Catholic, raising to a level with them those elements in the Church which they and I agree in believing to be national, or else individual feelings and apprehensions of their own, he is right. But if he means that I acknowledge a difference with the most ultra divine of the so-called Catholic School, or with the most ultra divine of the so-called Protestant School, or with any divine who dwells at any point between these two extremes, on the question, whether our Sacraments, our Orders, our Creeds, our Scriptures, are Catholic, in a sense in which our Canons are not Catholic, he is entirely wrong. Or if he means that I admit a difference with any English divine as to the question, whether our Catholic institutions do, in *some sense*, connect us with the invisible Head of the Church, he is utterly wrong. I never met with any clergyman who had the least doubt about these points. There are many theories, as I said before, about the way in which we may make ourselves wholly Catholic or wholly national; many theories about the degree and the manner of our Lord's connexion with his Church. My desire was to throw aside these private theories, and to lead my countrymen back to a consideration of the fact, recognized in terms by all of them. I invited them to reflect upon their own belief, and then to consider what acts were or were not in accordance with it. Of course, in this part of my inquiry I may have arrived at wrong practical conclusions. Mr. Hope says that I have; but he has not taken the best way to convince me of my error, when he sets at nought premises which belong to every churchman, as well as to me; when he will not allow me to distinguish between institutions which seem to be separated by the most evident historical landmarks; when he tells me that I substitute theories of my own for laws of the Church, because I wish to ascertain what are the laws of the Church, and how they may be most effectually



obeyed. The speculations of divines, I thought three months ago, hindered us from seeing clearly the facts of our position. I find now that the speculations of Canonists lead to the denial of these facts altogether.

The reader may perceive, by this time, that though the decision of the question respecting the national or Catholic character of the English Canons cannot, in the least degree, affect the obligation of a person who has sworn to observe them, it may affect, in a very important degree, the interpretation which is given to them. Do I mean that we may interpret them with more laxity at certain times than at others? I admit no laxity whatever in the construction of any oath, where by laxity is meant a departure from the meaning and intent of those who imposed it upon us. I referred to the case of College Statutes as a parallel one. The letter of them is transgressed every day, though those who receive College benefits are bound by oath to observe them. If that letter be violated because the person who has brought himself under the obligation likes his own will better than that of the founder, or if he be unwilling to yield his opinion about the intent of the statute to the judgment of the person for the time being in whom the founder has vested the control of the society, his conscience must, I conceive, be sorely vexed. But if, in violating a rule, he maintains in one set of circumstances that which the founder, living in another set of circumstances, evidently meant by it, and if he submits his own interpretation to the visitor, he need not heed the tones of any cross-examiner who insults him with the words, "*Remember, Sir, you are upon your oath:*" he does remember it; and because he remembers it, and Him to whom the oath is an appeal, he honours the memory of his benefactor by acting up to his wishes, even while disobeying his words. This is not my doctrine; much graver and learned men had propounded it in reference to this very subject. I only claimed the benefit of its application to myself and to others, who, though we owe no allegiance to statutes, are bound by Canons. I claimed that we should not be considered perjurers, if we do not "usually wear in our journeys cloaks with sleeves, commonly called priests' cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons or cuts," according to the 74th Canon; provided we are ready to submit to our Diocesan, if he tells us that our costume is incon-

sistent with the general intention of the English Church, as understood by him in reference to our own age. And on the same ground I claimed for Bishop Alexander, that he should not be considered a perjurer, if, understanding the intent of the Canons to be the preservation of our own national Church, and the prevention of any violation of its principles, he sought for no relaxation of them in his own case, or in reference to English subjects, but did not confuse the minds of foreigners, newly awakened to the importance of Catholic institutions, by degrading them to the level of our own peculiar arrangements; it being assumed that in each particular emergency he was ready to defer to the sentence of his Metropolitan.

Mr. Hope's mode of replying to this part of my statement seemed to me at first rather strange. He says,—“If Mr. Maurice will turn to my letter, he will see that the case of *ipso facto* separation which I have put, is that which would have arisen had Bishop Alexander's suffragancy and the obligation of the Anglican Church-constitution within his jurisdiction been totally repudiated. And this, to follow the analogy which he suggests, would have been equivalent to the rejection of the whole body of statutes, and of the authority both of head and visitor, by a member of a college; upon the supposition of which case I cannot understand his question” (whether the Fellow of a College ceases to be a Fellow who commits a violation of its statutes?) “being answered otherwise than in the affirmative.”

Now it would have seemed to me, speaking as a plain man, and knowing nothing about canon laws, that the total repudiation by Bishop Alexander of his suffragancy, and of the obligation of Anglican Church-constitution, is the same thing as separating from the English Church. You would not say that one *involved* the other, any more than you would say that outlawry involves civil death, or the incapacity of breathing, natural death. If Mr. Hope merely wrote his pamphlet to establish this proposition, he was wasting his time and ability to very little purpose; for he might have made many challenges before he met with an opponent. I thought the question to be considered was, What transgression of the letter of particular canons implies a repudiation of suffragancy? just as the question in the other case is, What transgression of the letter of particular statutes implies a rejection of the whole body of statutes and the



authority both of head and visitor? And after all, I find this is the question; for in the next paragraph he remarks, "The points, therefore, to be considered are, What deviation from those Canons is tolerated by the coercive jurisdictions of our Church, and what licence may be allowed to a conscience really desirous to do its duty under them?" Assuredly; and this question brings us back to the case, not of the whole body of statutes, but of particular statutes. *A licence to the conscience*, I believe that the bishop has as little right to seek for as the fellow of a college. After a *rule of interpretation* upon which he may act in different circumstances, he has as much right to inquire as the fellow of a college. And it is in vain for Mr. Hope to say, that the subject-matter of those Canons which he would enforce, according to the letter, upon Bishop Alexander, is more important than that of the Canons or of the Statutes which are not observed according to the letter. He has already condemned, though not in nearly so strong terms as the error deserved, my supposed heresy of measuring the obligation of oaths by the nature of the matter to which they refer. He has already asserted the true principle, that one is entirely independent of the other; he cannot, therefore, turn round and say, Do you bring these trifles about dress or food into discussion, when I am speaking of Canons which refer to Liturgies and to Articles? The oath which binds us to the one is the same oath which binds us to the other. And when we come to the question, which is the only one that really admits of consideration, how ought we to interpret these Canons, in order that we may adhere to the meaning and spirit of them, in altered circumstances, I believe there is much stronger warrant for the non-application of the Canons respecting Liturgies and Articles to foreigners, than for the non-observance of Canons respecting dress by ourselves. My conscience would be quite clear in both cases; but I think the difference of our customs might have been foreseen by the legislators of the Church two centuries ago, and that the case of the relations into which we might be brought, with foreign Protestants in the East, could not have been foreseen. I think there is more excuse for saying that they wished to extend the exact limitation which they imposed upon the costume of clergymen, beyond the *period* to which it was naturally applicable, than that they wished to extend rules of the other kind, beyond the *persons* to whom they

were naturally applicable. At all events, there is in each case a referee, the one whom the Canons themselves contemplate, to whom they specially command us in cases of difficulty and new emergencies to submit.

But I am quite aware that Mr. Hope will endeavour to turn this last statement to his own use. He will say, "Then, you admit it is a *new* case, a case which could not be foreseen; what more do I want to prove that those who have established the Jerusalem Bishopric have brought us into a false position?" This point is closely connected with another charge against me, which is expressed in the following words. "I may here notice what appears to me the singularly injudicious mode in which Mr. Maurice involves the promoters of the scheme in the party considerations, which can alone explain such arguments as those which would justify one part of the Church for breaking laws by suggesting that another part is equally ready to do so."—p. 56. But was this my object? or is this the only justification of the arguments I used? I believe not. Feeling most strongly what I have expressed already, that the whole bias of our age, not in one section of the Church, but in all its sections, is towards communion with foreigners, I wished to show that such cords as those with which Mr. Hope sought to bind us must be broken in pieces as tow, whether the views and inclinations of one set of persons or of another should prevail. I wished to show that new cases would be continually arising on one side or on another, to which the mere letter of Canons framed with a view to the protection of our own national position must be inapplicable. I knew that not one in twenty of Mr. Hope's readers would value his canonical lore for its own sake. They would be convinced by his half-developed theological statements, or by their own previous state of mind, that any alliance with Protestantism was mischievous; and therefore they would be thankful to any one who could teach them how to throw difficulties in its way. His direct arguments were therefore deriving an unfair advantage, from certain suppressed premises, belonging to a subject with which he did not profess formally to deal. I had a right to counteract this prestige by reminding these disciples of his, that they were sanctioning a law which would prove very inconvenient to themselves. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Froude has said in one of his letters, "It is not wise in us to talk much



about the Canons"—a sentiment equally worthy of his honesty, and of his acuteness. He knew that the real sentiments of those who formed the Canons were far more hostile to him than to his opponents, and that any temporary advantage which he might gain by the application of them to their irregularities, would ultimately tell more severely against himself, while it would subject him to the painful feeling that he was supporting a set of maxims, or at all events a set of views, which, in his heart, he disapproved. I do not want to take any advantage of these canons, against one party or another. I wish to discuss the whole question upon higher grounds; upon the grounds by which it must be ultimately tried. I believe that those who desire to preserve our own national church polity, and to recognize all other national churches, which have, or seek to have, a Catholic constitution, are acting up to the meaning of the Canons, and are the great witnesses for them. But if we would give them their due, we must acknowledge that there is something which is superior to them. If we believe that the English church is only another name for her canon law, we shall speedily lose both the one and the other.

This remark may enable Mr. Hope to understand the language which I used respecting legal formalists. It will be justified to his readers by the eloquent defence of the high function of the canonist which it has called forth; a defence which I have read with the greatest pleasure, and which seems to me as honourable to the subject as to the writer of it. But Mr. Hope seems to imagine that a person cannot dread the substitution of technicalities for principles, unless he have a latent feeling that "the Church of Christ rests upon speculative truth alone," not "upon the positive institutions of our Lord, and his apostles," p. 55. Now if there is one principle which I have endeavoured to assert more than another, here and elsewhere, it is this. Nor is Mr. Hope right in supposing that a jealousy of legal interpretations and legal influence is confined to mere theorists. Every reader of Cicero knows that the Scævolas of his day regarded him with anything but admiration; and that, though he bestowed on them many courteous phrases, he also took frequent opportunities of reminding them that he was no learned civilian himself, and that he found the civilians troublesome either as opponents, or as allies. Nevertheless, the zeal of

Cicero for orders and institutions is proverbial. All his compromises were for the sake of them. His philosophy was made subordinate to the protection of them; his very style expresses the Roman sense of organization and subordination. Of Cicero (not of Scævola) it has been said, that a constitutional history of Rome might be composed from his writings, though all other records of it had perished. Again, no reader of our parliamentary history can have forgotten that passage in one of Burke's earlier speeches, in which he describes Mr. George Grenville, and the administration of which he was the head. It will be remembered, that while he does the most ample justice to the honesty and the talent of this minister, he describes him as utterly disabled for the duties of a statesman, by the narrow views, and the passion for formulas, which he had contracted from his legal education. Nor I think will another much later speech of the same great man have passed from my reader's recollection, which was delivered when the lawyers on both sides maintained in the House of Commons, that the impeachment of Hastings had necessarily terminated in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament. His denunciation of this doctrine, as the result of a love of technicalities which was fatal to all practical business and plain sense, proves that an experience of nearly twenty years had only riveted the conviction more strongly in his mind, which he had expressed when he was just entering into public life. Yet will any one say that Burke was a champion of speculative truth against institutions? Where shall we find such vehement attacks upon speculation as in his writings? Whose voice is it that sounds clear and strong through the clamours of forty years, and three revolutions, on behalf of constitutional forms and permanent national orders? I believe the case will be precisely the same, when it pleases God to raise up any great witnesses and champions in behalf of his Church. They will urge men to cleave with intense love to the sacramental institutions of the Church, and to see a meaning in them which has been obscured by theories and speculations. For the sake of those institutions, they will exhort men to beware how they submit to the teaching—though they may greatly profit by the knowledge—of jurists and canonists.

Mr. Hope asks whether "there have not been trifling divines as well as quibbling canonists?" I answer, not only have there



been such divines, but there are such now; and that is my reason for trembling at the influence which the Canonists are likely to acquire over us. If we were vigorous theologians, if we had a grasp of the real character of our institutions, legal men would be our helpers; now they aspire, and reasonably aspire, to be our masters. For when we meet them, we find how vastly more acute and accomplished they are than we, how much more laboriously they have studied, how much more coherently they have thought! With us all is loose, vague, and flimsy; with them there is arrangement and system,—every formula in its place, every precedent ready for application. Who can wonder that we should eagerly resort to them as our guides, that those who most exalt the sacerdotal function should be content to be taught what it is by laymen; that those who speak most of the awfulness of sacraments should be ready to exalt above them maxims and decrees? I see indications all around me of his danger, and I conceive that I am not valuing my own function unduly, or lowering that of the Canonists, if I earnestly warn my brethren of it. I hope I am not so ignorant as to “despise” Canonists. If Mr. Hope had charged me with fearing them, he would have spoken much more truly. I do fear them; but the fear is more discreditable to us than to them. When the birds, according to the fable of the Athenian poet, established a commonwealth for themselves in the middle world, determining that no sacrifices should go up from earth except by their permission, and that Iris should not come down from heaven, unless she received a passport from them, it might be lawful to forget their beautiful plumage, and their pleasant notes, and to think of the one only as darkening the air, of the other as sounds of disastrous omen. But they could not have obtained supremacy, if heaven and earth had kept up a continual fellowship. When lawyers determine that the ordinary doings of men and divine truths shall be connected with each other only through their formulas, and so turn both into fictions, we may be tempted to speak harshly of a science, which, if it held its right place, doing homage to that which is more spiritual, and not disdaining commerce with that which is more homely, would deserve all honour, and would receive it. Still the ecclesiastical lawyer has only attained that ascendancy which alarms us, because he knows his power, and we do not know ours.

While I retain these suspicions, which must seem to Mr. Hope so unreasonable, of him and of his class, he will not be surprised that I should not agree with him that the restoration of ecclesiastical synods would promise remedies for the evils under which the Church is suffering. One of his reasons for believing that I especially ought to join in the cry for their revival, is, that I have a theory to support, which is of no value until I can induce some body, which fairly represents the clergy, to sanction it. Not being aware of the existence of any such theory, I do not want to obtain votes for it. If I did I have every reason to believe they would be refused. Amidst the infinite host of theories and propositions, which would be submitted to the spiritual parliament by persons of all parties and degrees amongst us, mine, if it made itself visible at all, would be sure of the rejection which, in common with nearly all the rest, it would deserve. The theologians in the assembly, Mr. Hope knows well, would have no chance at all; they would simply tear one another to pieces, and make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of those who regard the sorrows and disgraces of the Church as subjects for laughter. The Canonists, or those clergymen who sit at their feet, being the only body of men who would understand themselves and their own purposes, would prevail. Or if they were defeated, men would see that, right or wrong, they were able to defend their course by the best arguments; and their failure would be ascribed to the ignorance of those who were associated with them. This being the prospect before us, Mr. Hope may—I cannot—feel any great longing to see the Church suddenly endued with her old legislative functions.

But I may be asked whether such functions do not of right belong to the Church, and, if so, how I can wish her to be without them, even if circumstances seem ever so unfavourable to the exercise of them. I answer, Legislation seems to me to be the indispensable property of a *State*, without which it cannot practically exist. Its essence may continue, but its power is gone. During those years of the reign of Charles I., in which Parliaments were not sitting, I believe the English State existed. But its animation was suspended; you could only speak of it as living, because it had the capacity of life, and might, therefore, recover the breath which is the sign of it. I do not think the case of the Church at all analogous. I doubt whether we have



a right to call legislation, in the logical sense, a *property* of the Church. It is a most useful *accident*, which she does and will possess, when in a perfectly sound condition, but which may be withdrawn from her not only without endangering her vitality, but even for the very purpose of teaching her wherein her vitality consists. I do not, then, look upon the disuse of synods or convocations as having even tended to the destruction of the National Church, though a number of inconvenient consequences may have followed from the loss of powers, which are at once witnesses of health, and means of preserving it. If we had had councils and synods in England, during the last hundred and fifty years, would not men have considered the Church more and more merely as a spiritual *corporation*, have forgotten more and more that it is a sacramental *body*? And does not the great eagerness to revive them arise from the feeling that the Church is just like another corporation, though established by a divine hand for divine purposes, and therefore cannot exist without the kind of powers which are, to ordinary corporations, indispensable? Are we not clutching at these legislative functions, because we feel that the ark of God will fall, if we do not put forth our hands to support it?

Mr. Hope has given an eloquent description of the perplexities and contradictions in the practice of the Church in the present day. I grant all that he says; and yet I am most thankful that there has been no Church legislation to hinder us from taking the devious courses which he denounces, and to force us into a more definite and regular line. Much precious experience would have been lost; many truths which it has pleased God to bring to light by our confusions would have been stifled; the knowledge of the divine order itself would not have been attained, for it reveals itself in conflicts with that which is opposed to it; in place of the unity to which we believe God is leading us through infinite perplexities, we should have had a dull mechanical uniformity prescribed by men, and therefore incapable of fulfilling even their own poor conception of what is necessary or desirable.

Our impatience of that method of historical teaching, which is to the body what personal sorrows and conflicts are to the individual, seems to me a proof that we do not yet feel the government of him who, as we all acknowledge, directs the move-

ment of the spiritual commonwealth, to be a real not a formal, imaginary government. Yet we are, I hope and trust, on the way to that conviction. Our new feeling respecting the character of the episcopal office, (upon which Dr. Pusey has commented with so much power in his letter to the Archbishop,) is surely one great step. For whilst the highest officer of the Church was contemplated as especially a mere state delegate and functionary, there was little hope that the fact of the existence of a spiritual body could be realised. But this sense on our part will not be effectual, unless it be accompanied with a corresponding sense of responsibility in our rulers—with a brave feeling that they do not stand first and chiefly at the bar of public opinion, be that opinion lay or clerical, but first and chiefly at the bar of Christ. Every token of such a feeling I must hail as something which, in a low condition of the Church, could not have been expected, and is likely not to be appreciated. Individual bishops may act, and have acted, most wrongly; but still nearly all the good which has been done in the Church has been done by individuals who dared to risk something; who believed that they were to move in the line which God was marking out for them, and that they could by his help see that line; who trusted that, if their work was a right one, Councils and Synods would confirm it in due time; or if not, who could say, "our judgment is with the Lord\*." I cannot, therefore, join in the cry "that the freedom of the English Church is invaded," whenever Bishops venture to do acts at their own risk, or upon their own responsibility. If they have done something very wrong, the Church, as Dr. Hook has well argued, is less committed by their act, than it would have been by a more general resolution; if they have done what is right, I believe they have

\* Mr. Hope charges me with inconsistency for showing so much jealousy of primacy in Rome, while I can justify the most extraordinary acts of supremacy if they are performed at Canterbury. I do not see the point of this accusation. So far as I remember, I said nothing, or almost nothing, about the persons who took part in the measure. I merely defended it on its own merits. At the same time I stated the grounds of my objection to the authority claimed by the Bishops of Rome, and said that *such* an authority would be equally intolerable wherever the seat of it might be. If the Archbishop of Canterbury had done any act in the character of Christ's vicar and patriarch of the universe, I should of course feel that the sin of England was as great as that of Italy.



been directed by a higher wisdom than their own; and it seems to me a poor and unpractical ground of complaint that we are pledged to a measure about which we have not been consulted.

Upon these grounds I should wish the question of this new Bishopric to be discussed. Very able men have undertaken to prove that the measure is bad in itself, either because it violates Catholic principles or English Canons. Are we satisfied with their arguments? Have they convinced us? If they have, let us regret the measure, and desire that no evil may come to the Church from it. If they have not convinced us, let us not suffer them to help out the weakness of their general plea by special pleas about the mode in which the measure has been accomplished. In the questions whether a sufficient number of Bishops were consulted in the matter, whether Bishops generally attend the meetings of Convocation, what rules of etiquette are ordinarily observed, or were observed or omitted on this occasion among the Prelates themselves, we, the inferior clergy, are very little interested. We do not know the Bishops as a collective body; we know nothing of the deliberations which go on among them privately. When any one of them addresses us as the subjects of his ordinary jurisdiction, we must desire to yield a willing obedience. When acts of this public kind come before us, we are permitted, as I have already supposed, to canvass them on their merits, but whether they were acts determined upon by one, two, or twenty, seems to me, so far as we are concerned, a matter of no consequence. Dr. Hook seems to me to have treated the subject in the fairest way, when he has held those bishops responsible for the act, who took part in the consecration of Bishop Alexander. Mr. Hope is anxious to exempt the Bishop of New Zealand from any participation in the measure; but it is difficult to understand upon what principle. He seems to admit, on the one hand, that this excellent prelate did require and receive explanations respecting the object of the bishopric, as of course he would; on the other hand to insinuate a doubt whether he knew in what kind of service he was engaging. At all events we, who, as I said, have nothing whatever to do with any private transactions, must assume that those who, in the most solemn manner, sent forth the Bishop with powers for his work, did mean and wish that he should undertake it.

And if we are not bound to trouble ourselves about the

question, how few or how many of the rulers of the Church were concerned in originating this measure, we are quite as little bound to insist upon our right of voting upon it. Practically, every educated man in the Church, be he clergyman or layman, has by his acts and words, in his own particular sphere, a power of influencing the mind of the Church, and therefore the minds of those who rule it. It is a great responsibility to every man how he uses or abuses this power; that he possesses it, there is no doubt. What more would he have had if Convocation had been sitting in all its ancient glory, and if this question had been submitted to it? Would he have been able to make his voice better heard in the din of that assembly? If he feels some fear of his freedom being interfered with by the decisions of Bishops, has he no fear of shows of hands, white and black balls, reports of committees, interminable speeches? If we are devout, and wise, and free, and united, we may be able to endure these dangers; nay, they may be instruments of safety to us; but that they will make us wise, or free, or united, I say nothing of devout, I wait for some other proof than Mr. Hope, with all his ability, has been able to produce\*.

\* It seems that I misunderstood a remark which Mr. Hope made in his letter on the subject of free discussion. Having read several articles in the newspapers respecting this Bishopric, which appeared to be written for the purpose of producing agitation upon the subject—not so much among Englishmen as in foreign Courts—I rejoiced that the measure was accomplished in defiance of such appeals to vulgar passions, and before they could produce their intended effect. Nothing has occurred since the Bishopric was established to diminish my dislike of such interference. In March last a morning journal of great influence published a lively article respecting it, which began with the assumption of a lying report out of a French newspaper, went on to indulge in coarse allusions to Mrs. Alexander, and finished with the primitive exhortation, that the Bishop, if he were persecuted, should abandon his post and return home. Of such kind of free discussion it was impossible that a scholar, a gentleman, and a Christian could approve. Still it is satisfactory to have Mr. Hope's assurance that he "wished for free discussion only among those who are qualified and authorized to discuss," and that his words referred rather to the general state of theology among us, than to this particular case. I hope nothing I have said shows that I am otherwise than most anxious for discussion among those who feel that ecclesiastical questions are too solemn to be trifled with, and that they are responsible to God for the sentiments they utter.

There is another point in Mr. Hope's letter to which I ought to refer. He accuses us of claiming Dr. Hook as an authority on our side, "though his approbation does not extend beyond the point at which the practical objections



But if Mr. Hope be ever so right in maintaining the necessity of an ecclesiastical synod for the consideration of this question, he cannot be right in entirely misrepresenting the nature of it, and the objects of those who differ with him in their views of it. This he has done most grievously in one elaborate passage of his Postscript. He assumes the existence of two parties in the Church,—one anxious for union with German congregations, one jealous of them as unorthodox and uncatholic. Hitherto, he tells us, these parties had been treated with equal fairness; if the former liked to enter into communion with German Protestants, they were not hindered from doing so; only the latter were not forced to take part in an act which they disapproved. By this measure, it seems, the balance is destroyed; the Protestants, not content with a toleration of their proceedings, have demanded that they should be legalized; the whole Church of England is compelled to fashion herself according to their taste. Mr. Hope evidently relies very much upon this state-

which Mr. Hope urged come into operation." I may be more guiltless than others on this point, for I had not read Dr. Hook's pamphlet when I wrote my own; and I merely expressed, in a few words, my pleasure that he had subscribed to the fund for supporting the Bishopric, and had defended his course publicly. I was quite prepared to expect that, in some respects, his view of the matter might be different from mine; and I intimated a hope that no words which I had used might diminish the force of his. But though I thus guarded myself, and though Mr. Hope has proved that I have deviated in an important point from the judgment of a person with whom I should always desire to be in agreement, I am quite willing to take my share in the blame of regarding Dr. Hook as a very efficient supporter of the cause.

In a question wherein the feelings of two great nations are concerned, even ordinary diplomatists know that expressions of sympathy or contempt oftentimes weigh more than agreements or discordances of opinion. But this is especially true in ecclesiastical matters. If we want to frustrate a union between two Churches, a bitter phrase will serve us better than twenty arguments; if we want to promote it, one token of real affectionate sympathy is worth many bushels of logic. Dr. Hook has shown that he is aware of this fact. In addition to his generous defence of the Augsburg Confession, he has said that the Germans are the most candid and open to conviction of any people living. Who can pass from the hard, suspicious language,—qualified here and there by some word of faint praise, falling more coldly and heavily upon the ear than the censures themselves,—which is habitual to those who have written on one side of this controversy, to a pamphlet which contains such a sentence as this, without feeling that the writer has meant something different from them,—that he desires to bring about the reconciliation, which they would compass sea and land to avert!

ment. It is thrown into a rhetorical form, and is likely to produce a greater effect than all the rest of his pamphlet. And yet we have again and again maintained, that the basis of communion with Germans *must* be a Catholic and Episcopal basis, and we have said that we approve of the mission of Bishop Alexander, because it recognizes that basis and no other.

And let the reader also bear this thought in mind. Mr. Hope and his friends wish us to believe that the English bishops would have incurred no responsibility by *rejecting* the measure proposed to them by the King of Prussia;—the only presumption and peril lay in adopting it. Now every one must know that in ordinary daily life cases continually occur in which *not* to act is to decide for ourselves; to act is to leave the decision with God. Are we sure that there are no parallel cases in Church History; that this is not one of them? Since there is positively no objection upon which the opponents of the measure think it safe to rely, but the objection that by sending a Bishop to Jerusalem we are involved in relations with German Protestants; since the footing upon which the King of Prussia proposed to meet us was an Episcopal footing; since, in all previous attempts at union with Protestants abroad, no proposition distinctly involving the recognition of Episcopacy had been made from the Continental side, the Bishops of our Church, by at once dismissing this scheme, would have seemed both to Germans and Englishmen to be saying, "There is a hopeless gulf between us; nothing ever can bridge it over." I grant that such a decision might have been most acceptable to Mr. Hope; for it would have made all future negotiation impossible; but would it have been acceptable to the English Church generally? would it have been in accordance with the prayers of its most distinguished divines in former days? would it have indicated that disposition to treat different views impartially which Mr. Hope recommends? On the other hand, what is the case now? The French and English newspapers, the *Dublin Review*, and the opponents of the measure generally, say that it must come to nought. "Bishop Alexander holds a ridiculous and anomalous position. He will be sent home in disgrace." Very well! then the decision of Heaven will be against the scheme; we have put it to the wager of battle, and it has been defeated. In that case any mischief which the Church generally has incurred will be repaired; those who say they are its



true members will exult; only those who have hoped too fondly will be disappointed. I confess I would rather share their disappointment, than be reckoned the most ingenious and prophetic of those who have withstood them. For I think that the humiliation of discovering that a plan which we thought reasonable is not one which it pleases Almighty Wisdom to favour, may be very salutary. At all events it is more easy to bear than the self-reproach of having, upon some theory or calculation of our own, thrown away an opportunity which seemed to be placed within our reach of bringing Jews and Mahommedans into the Church, and of promoting peace and unity among Christians.

---

LONDON.  
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS  
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.



## NOTE.

[The following documents are so important, that the Publisher has kindly consented to print them on a fly-leaf, and to append them to my Pamphlet. The royal ordonnance appeared in the *Prussian States Gazette* of the 12th instant. It has, I see, been translated into the *Standard Newspaper* of Tuesday, the 20th, and into the *Morning Post* of the 21st. The Letter of the Archbishop, which has been re-translated in these papers from the German, I have been authorized to publish in its original form.]

---

*Berlin, 11th July.*

HIS Majesty has been pleased to address the following Royal Ordonnance to the Minister of Spiritual Affairs, concerning the relation of the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem to the German congregations of the Evangelical Confession in Palestine.

“I forward to you herewith a letter of the Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, containing certain definite propositions concerning the relation of the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland to the German congregations of the Evangelical Confession, which are disposed to place themselves under his jurisdiction. You will perceive from it, that the before-mentioned Prelate guarantees to the congregations of the German Protestant Confession in Palestine the protection and the pastoral care of the English Bishop at Jerusalem, without exacting any other terms than such as the very exercise of this protection makes necessary.

“The publication of these terms will be of the greatest service in removing the misapprehensions of well-disposed persons, and in making harmless the perversions and calumnies of the malicious. Although at present no German Evangelical congregation may exist in Palestine, yet the establishment of them under the

influence of circumstances which are, for the first time, so favourable, is to be expected; and the candidates of the German Protestant Church, whom the growing interest in the work of missions for the conversion of the Jews, is leading to Palestine, will even now find it very desirable to embrace the offers contained in the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by means of the protection which is extended to them, and of the superintendence of the Bishop, to prepare a freer course, and a more happy result for their activity. Candidates of this kind who have been examined, and been considered qualified by the proper jurisdiction, especially if they have manifested their firm allegiance to the Evangelical faith, according to the teaching of the Augsburg Confession, I am well disposed to assist in any suitable manner, and I beg you to make any such persons known to me."

---

#### LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

SIRE,

*Lambeth, June 18, 1842.*

Conceiving it to be desirable that your Majesty should be fully acquainted with the relations in which the German congregations in Palestine will stand towards the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, I most respectfully submit the following proposal, which I trust will be satisfactory to your Majesty.

The Bishop will consider it his duty to take under his pastoral care and protection all such congregations of the German Protestant confession within the limits of his diocese, as are disposed to submit to his jurisdiction, and he will render them all the assistance in his power.

In these congregations the German Liturgy, which has been taken from the Liturgies received in your Majesty's dominions, and which I have carefully perused, will be used in the performance of divine service, by clergymen ordained under the following regulations.

Candidates for holy orders of the German tongue, having obtained your Majesty's permission, shall exhibit to the Bishop



a certificate from such authority as your Majesty shall be pleased to appoint, of their good life and behaviour, and of their fitness in all respects for the ministry.

The Bishop will, of course, take measures to satisfy himself of the fitness of every candidate so presented to him for the peculiar duties of his office, ■ as well as of the soundness of his faith, and his desire to receive ordination at the hands of the Bishop.

The Bishop being satisfied on these several points, will proceed to ordain the candidate on his subscribing the three Creeds: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, and will grant him his licence to officiate, upon his taking the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop and his successors.

With respect to the confirmation of young persons of these German congregations in Palestine, the clergyman of their congregation will instruct them for that purpose, will cause them to undergo the requisite examination, and will receive from them the profession of their faith in the presence of the congregation, in the customary manner. They will then be presented to the Bishop, who will administer the rite of confirmation, according to the form prescribed by the Liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland.

I have the honour to be,

Sire,

With the highest respect,

Your Majesty's most obliged,

And most faithful servant,

W. CANTUAR,

*His Majesty Frederick William IV.,  
King of Prussia.*

---

LONDON:  
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,  
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.





